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MOROCCAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE RESULTANT IMPACT ON MOROCCAN-U.S. RELATIONS

Richard Salvatore

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THESIS

MOROCCAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
AND THE RESULTANT IMPACT
ON MOROCCAN-U.S. RELATIONS

by

Richard Salvatore

December 1977

Thesis Advisor: J. Amos

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This thesis reviews United States military and economic aid to Morocco during the last twenty years. A correlation is then made between this aid and Moroccan support for United States policies based on Moroccan voting patterns in the United Nations.

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Moroccan Political Development and the Resultant Impact on Moroccan-U.S. Relations

by

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Lt. Colonel, United States Air Force
B.A., Bellevue College, 1974

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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I. INTRODUCTION

All modernizing societies are in a process of transition. We know where these nations have been, however, the future course of political development can only be hypothesized. It is in the interest of the United States (in order to chart our own political course in regard to these developing nations) to have some insight into the probable destination of these countries.

Morocco achieved its independence from France in 1956 and we have since witnessed numerous news reports reporting on the political instability of the nation. The feeling held by most political scientists is that the nation is on the verge of political upheaval and King Hassan II is on borrowed time for not fulfilling the political expectations of the populace.

In the year of independence, King Mohammed V nominated a consultative assembly to assist in governing the nation which was followed two years later by an invitation to the major political (The Istiqlal) to form a government. However, the numerous restrictions placed on the party resulted in the Istiqlal Party splitting into conservative and left wing factions with the left wing faction, the Union Nationale des Forces Populaires (UNFP) becoming the main opposition to the monarchy. The party grew in popular support and in 1960 the UNFP won the majority of seats in

Morocco's first municipal elections since independence. Dissatisfied with the political trend, Mohammed V placed himself at the head of the government and his son Hassan as Prime Minister.

The unexpected death of Mohammed V in 1961 brought Hassan to the throne. Hassan's education and past involvement in Moroccan political affairs proved to be valuable assets. Hassan obtained his formal education primarily at European institutions and obtained his law degree from the University of Bordeaux. He was actively involved with the nationalists in their drive for independence and once achieved was made Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. He acted as confidant to the King in political matters and frequently represented the state on overseas diplomatic missions. In 1960, when King Mohammed V assumed the Premiership and control of the government he appointed the Crown Prince as Vice-Premier. King Hassan II fostered the growth of the right wing trend. The growth of the new party resulted in a stalemate in the 1963 elections between the left wing and the right wing factions. The FDIC garnished the most votes, however, they lost seven ministerial positions. The Istiqlal and the UNFP had a combined total of thirty seven percent of the vote with the remaining thirty nine percent of the voters representing non partisan candidates.[1] Before any

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[1]Gallagher, C. F., "The Meanings of Moroccan Elections," AUFS North Africa Series, v. 9, June 1963, p. 6.

political movement could get started, Morocco became embroiled in a border war with Algeria which temporarily brought all political parties together in a show of national unity. However, once the war ended and although Morocco was victorious, we again witness a host of political problems as riots involving students and workers erupted. The government quelled the riots and attempted to set up a coalition government, but the UNFP refused to cooperate. The King declared a state of emergency in 1965 and the National Assembly was inaugurated. In July 1971 King Hassan II narrowly escaped a coup attempt initiated by army officers. In March 1972 another national referendum approved the third new constitution since Hassan assumed the throne and in August of the same year there was another coup attempt by members of the Air Force. It was after this second coup attempt that the new constitution was temporarily suspended.' In 1973, armed bands fought government troops in the Atlas regions of Morocco. The government alleged that the subversive elements were financed by Libya and that the Rabat branch of the UNFP was being used as a cover for these subversive activities. The government made hundreds of arrests charging them with endangering the security of the state. Included in those arrested were three members of the Central Committee and the Administrative Commission. These arrests led to the conviction of many of the UNFP

organizers.[2] This was followed in 1974 by the suspension of all political organizations and an atmosphere of a police state. With political turmoil brewing beneath the surface, the King again rallied the nation together over the Spanish Sahara issue. The eventual cession of Spanish Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania resulted in a great political victory for King Hassan II. The King has ridden the crest of this political victory until the present time, however, the opposition parties are still advocating that he relinquish some of his power. Problems of population growth, agriculture setbacks and jobs for college graduates continue to plague Morocco creating further problems for King Hassan II. In 1977 the political parties, trade unions and student groups still appear to be a source of trouble and instability for the Moroccan monarchy.

Looking at this brief scenario of Moroccan political events since independence which includes three different constitutions, the assumption of direct rule by both monarchs, two coup attempts by the military, subversive activities by a major political party and student and worker riots would tend to support the aforementioned opinions concerning the instability of the nation.

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[2] Africa Research Bulletin, "Anti Government Activities," March 1-31, 1973, p. 2793-2794; "Action Against UNFP," April 1-30, 1973, p. 2823-2824; "Subversion Trial," June 1-30, 1973, p. 2888.

It is, however, the contention of this author that the nature of the Moroccan political scene is basically sound in light of the fact that the nation is a modernizing autocracy in a process of transition. According to David Apter these systems can normally tolerate wide changes in social and economic life and adapt quickly to the establishment and employment of a bureaucracy. However, they cannot easily cope with new social and political groups which demand a change in the political system and principles of legitimacy.[3] It is also submitted that much political behavior in Morocc frequently interpreted as being a manifestation of political instability can more appropriately be identified as characteristic Moroccan behavior formulated by its unique culture.

This paper will examine the role of traditionalism in Morocco with specific emphasis on the Arab-Berber makeup of Moroccan society and their cultural, linguistic and political differences. The union of two such distinct cultures into a homogeneous state built on fellow feeling while eliminating primordial discontent is bound to have lasting effects. The Berbers, a tribal segmentary society speaking their own language comprise the majority of the population. The Berbers political system consisted of a system of balanced opposition without any central authority.

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[3]Apter, D. E., The Political Kingdom in Uganda, p. 26, Princeton University Press, 1961. For an excellent description of the characteristics of a modernizing autocracy also see pages 27 and 28.

The society consisted of tribes and was designed to prevent serious political ambition. The elected tribal chiefs could only govern by consent and all elections must be unanimous. The Arabs on the other hand tended to live along the coastal plains and in urban areas under a central administrative authority. The Arabs spoke Arabic and were politically aware of the advantages of a central government. The incongruities of the two societies appear to be too diverse to allow the formation of a harmonious society. However, within these two societies existed the common bond of Islam. This proves to be most important since the role of Islam within a muslim society will permeate all aspects of society. The Islamic views on history, predestination, community, church and state and the nature of authority will color the muslim's view on modernization. Traditionalists versus modernizers has two distinct political poles within Moroccan politics with the amount of deviation from pure Islamic doctrine producing different factions all along the political spectrum.

The establishment of Morocco as a protectorate of France in 1912 has had the most profound effect on political modernization. The impact by the French on education, cultural assimilation, economics and political administration have left deep imprints on Morocco which will not easily be removed. The direct clash between a modern, western and industrialized nation with a traditional, Muslim and tribal culture was bound to produce a violent reaction. The French

during the protectorate fostered the creation of an elite class in Moroccan society through their system of education. The creation of a new class of Moroccans, the evolue, was French educated and desired to be assimilated into French culture. What actually resulted was the refusal by the French to accept them while in the process the evolue lost his cultural contact with the rest of Moroccan society. It will be to these new elites that the responsibility of political modernization will fall. The study of elites must go deeper to include all Moroccan elites, their orientations and groups or factions that could be potential problem areas. These elites were the original founders of Moroccan political parties and were the driving force in the growth ofMoroccan nationalism in their quest for total independence from France. I will review the growth of political parties in Morocco to examine the relationship between the parties and the monarchy. The policy of segmental opposition in tribal Morocco can be seen today within the political structure. The monarchy has successfully prevented any one political party from obtaining a majority of political power. It is in this fashion that the monarchy is able to play one political party against the other as it orchestrates Moroccan politics.

The last chapter prior to the conclusion will trace the path of U.S.-Moroccan relations. The strategic importance of Morocco due to its geographic location has resulted in superpower interest in the country. A correlation between U.S. aid and Moroccan voting patterns in the United Nations

will be made to assess United States influence in Moroccan affairs.

To establish an historical perspective, the initial Arab conquests of the area will be examined and the resulting Arab-Berber conflicts will be discussed. The period of the French Protectorate will be looked at to view French successes and failures in controlling Moroccan society and the French impact on political modernization. The growth of Moroccan nationalism follows with the formation of Moroccan political parties. With this background an attempt will be made to chart Moroccan-United States relations since independence and a prediction on the future course of these relations.

II. HISTORY

The path of Morocco as a modernizing autocracy has been conditioned and continues to be determined in great part to the influence of historical development and traditionalism. This paper will commence with a general overview of Moroccan history beginning with the initial Arab influx into the northwest corner of Africa.

The Arab armies started their infiltration into the Maghrib, the present day Arab speaking North African countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and parts of Libya,[4] following their conquest of Egypt about the year 642. This force led by Amr b al-As wanted to gain military prestige while releasing the growing pressures from his troops for the spoils of war. For years the Arab armies raided into the Maghrib without achieving any lasting footholds. By 667 these armies had advanced as far as Tunisia without establishing any permanent footholds. The Arab armies were receiving much opposition from the powerful Berber tribes who were being aided by the Byzantines. The Berbers were successful until approximately 700 when the Byzantines were defeated at Carthage. A strange phenomenon occurred about now as the former strong resistance shown by the Berbers virtually disappeared and the Arab armies overran the entire

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[4] Shimoni, Y. and Levine, E. (eds), Political Dictionary of the Middle East in the 20th Century, p. 244, Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company, 1974.

Maghrib by the end of the year 711. The new conquerors only required token submission and conversion to Islam from the Berbers while in return the Arabs solidified the Berber chieftain's position. There have been several theories as to the reason for the rapid Berber conversion to Islam.[5] Probably the most plausible appears to be due to the Berber recruitment into the Arab armies and the ability to equally share in the spoils of war as these armies advanced into Spain. By the year 750 the entire Maghrib was virtually Islamicized into the Kharajite doctrine.[6]

In addition to Islam, the use of Arabic naturally followed and became the official language of the portions of the Maghrib occupied by the Arabs. Many Arab settlers followed and settled along the coast and on the plains. It was in these areas that Arabic was predominant although the linguistic influence was felt throughout the rural areas. It was during the ninth century that the arabo-islamic Maghrib took shape and gave birth to an original type of civilization which still remains alive. Until the eleventh century the foundation of urban centers was associated with the intrusion of foreign elements. These centers appeared in the midst or on the periphery of territory inhabited by predominantly Berber pastoral tribes. These

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[5]Trimingham, J.S., A History of Islam in West Africa, p. 16-25, Oxford University Press, 1962; and Barbour, N. (ed), A Survey of North West Africa, p. 15-16, Oxford University Press, 1962.

[6]Hitti, P.K., History of the Arabs, p. 246-247, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1970.

new urban centers survived only to the extent that the tribes could be prevented from encroachment on them.

Towards the latter part of the tenth century, the Muslims from Spain advanced into the northern Maghrib and occupied it through the first decade of the eleventh century. When the Spanish Muslims departed, tribal rule returned to the Maghrib. However, government had to go beyond tribalism and justify itself in terms of upholding the authority of Muslim law. A political consciousness connected with the belief of the ultimate unity of all believers had come to exist along with tribal solidarity.

The Fatamids ruled in the Maghrib through the Berber Zirid dynasty. With the gradual demise of the Fatamids after the reign of al-Aziz, the Zirids broke off their allegiance to the Fatamids which created a void which was filled by two invasions which lasted almost three hundred years.[7] The first was the great Hilali invasion into the eastern Maghrib and the second that of the Sanhaja Berbers which occurred almost simultaneously with the first. The Sanhaja Berbers who had previously inhabited the Sahara entered the western Maghrib. By 1062, the Almoravids were firmly established in southern Morocco with their capital at Marrakesh and within twenty years had conquered all of Morocco. This state lasted for almost one hundred years when they were defeated by the Almohad Berbers who lived

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[7]Julien, C.A., History of North Africa, p. 80-82, Praeger Publications, 1970.

in the Atlas mountains and were in control of all of Morocco by the middle of the twelfth century. This new empire also lasted about one hundred years and it was during this period that the Maghrib saw its most brilliant period. We witness a united Maghrib, a flowering civilization with the spread of classical Arabic and great literary tradition. We also see the rise of the Malikite doctrine[8] and the growth of many Sufi orders. The growth of the Sufi doctrine can possibly be attributed to the dry intellectualism of the Almohads. The Almohads were defeated by the Maranid Berbers in 1275 and political unity was brought to an end.

It was also during this period that political union of the muslim community was broken and Sufi orders spread throughout the Maghrib. The Sufi's considered themselves orthodox muslims.

The Maranid dynasty lasted approximately three centuries and ended with the Saadian dynasty in Fez towards the middle of the sixteenth century. However it was during the Maranid's reign that Morocco took on its religious character and its towns took on the aspect which was to last to the twentieth century. The Maranids were not religious reformers nor descendants of Mohammed but to compensate for these obvious drawbacks they served the interests of Islam. During this dynasty, Morocco became totally Islamized except for a

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[8]Hitti, P.K., History of the Arabs, p. 395-398.

few Jewish communities and totally Arabicized except for the Berber enclaves in the mountains.

By the fifteenth century the tribal system of government had exhausted itself and one could see Ibn Khaldun's cyclical pattern of the rise and fall of states. Ibn Khaldun explains that royal authority and the foundation of dynasties are the goal of group feeling. He emphasizes that sedentary culture is the goal of bedouin life and that any civilization has a physical life similar to the physical life of an individual. He uses forty years as being the end of a growth cycle for an individual at which time there is a leveling off period followed by a decline and makes a correlation between man and sedentary civilizations. In his explanation he shows that when luxury and prosperity come to civilized people it causes them to follow the ways of sedentary culture and to adopt its customs. This leads to diversified luxuries with such things as the elegant crafts which were not formerly needed. Once this elegance has reached its limit a subservience to desires undermines the soul. The civilization can no longer preserve its religion because it has been firmly affected by customs that are difficult to discard. We now see that man cannot afford the luxuries he wants and the expenditures of the civilization mount so they are no longer reasonable but become extravagant and the people are dominated by their customs with all profits going into expenditures. Each person becomes reduced in circumstances and indigent.

Business decreases and the situation of the town decreases. Because of the many desires and pleasures resulting from luxury they are found to know everything about the ways and means of immorality and discuss it openly. This is in exact opposition to the modesty found in bedouin life. The civilization is now filled with people of little character. The younger members of the society have had their education neglected and the dynasty has failed to accept them. As the dynasty disintegrates, the civilization of the city which is the seat of the ruler also suffers and usually falls into complete ruin very rapidly. Once the ruling dynasty starts on the road to decay, the rise of the new dynasty takes place in one of two ways. The first is for provincial governors to gain control over remote regions once the ruling dynasty loses its influence in the remote areas. Here new dynasties flourish and compete amongst themselves for power with the stronger winning control. The second way is for a rebel from a neighboring tribe to revolt against the dynasty. The new leader has a strong following with group solidarity. They feel that they are superior to the ruling dynasty which has been affected by senility. The rebels normally gain domination as they constantly attack until they have achieved their gaol. Both of these two methods achieve the goal of domination over the ruling dynasty through perserverence and not through sudden action.

What we witness through Ibn Khaldun's analysis is a tribe rallying about its leader to sweep down from the mountains or desert to rid the country of a degenerate regime and reestablishing the territorial authority of the makhzen and then in a matter of two generations deteriorating into moral decay. We see a circulation of elites through tribes rotating within a fundamentally stable structure. The process transforms the socially cohesive tribes into incohesive sedentary city dwellers.[9]

Khaldun's premise is that there is a tragic antithesis between civilization and social cohesion and only tribes have social cohesion. Thus only tribes can provide the basis for the political order which cities and civilization need but do not engender. However, as the tribe provides this social cohesion the tribe ends up destroying itself. This pattern of tribal circulation occurred in Morocco until the twentieth century and the establishment of the French protectorate. In Saints of the Atlas, Gellner points out that the medieval dynasties which inspired Ibn Khaldun's analysis were founded by religious movements, whereas the latter ones sprang from the ranks of religious personnel claiming descent from the Prophet.[10]

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[9]Binder, L., Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Middle East Governments, The Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev., v. LI, no. 3, p. 651-668, Sept. 1957.

[10]Gellner, E., Saints of the Atlas, p. 6.

European Involvement in Morocco

The tribal system of Morocco also allowed christian encroachment by both Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese methodically occupied all major ports on the Atlantic and deprived Morocco of any maritime involvement. The Portuguese occupation incresed the popularity of the Sufi orders as they start to take on an anti-christian and anti-European attitude.

By the sixteenth century we see part of southern Morocco under the tribe of Banu Sa'd. Banu Sa'd's rise to power was facilitated by the belief that he was a descendent of the Prophet. This belief did not withstand the test of time and was rumoured that he was a descendent of the Prophets nurse.[11] The important fact, however, is that he was believed to be a descendent during his climb to fame. He was able to take the title of Sharif and unite many of the tribes and start the struggle with the Wattasids and the Portuguese. By the middle of the sixteenth century they had put an end to Portuguese domination and had obtained control of Morocco and we witness the start of the Sharifian empire.

The start of the seventeenth century is filled with civil strife, political upheaval and economic decline due to a power struggle between the three sons of al-Mansur.

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[11]Julien, C.A., History of North Africa, p. 222.

The country is divided and religious leaders as champions of the oppressed become increasingly more powerful. We start to see centers of opposition appear throughout the country. We also witness the uncertainty of political alliances. The tribes change their political leanings and put their favor with the Alawites, another Sharifian family. It was in 1666 that Mawlay al-Rashid took the city of Fez and took the title of Sultan. Prior to this, although the Alawites took part in the wars with the Portuguese, they had no defined political status.

The major problem all Moroccan political leaders had faced was finding a stable base for their authority. The loyalty of the tribes could be expected only as long as they were allowed to be a priviledged part of society. To be able to permanently rely on their support would necessitate the leader subjugating himself to their demands.

In order to keep the country under control and to wage war against the Christians and Turks, the sharif organized an army whose loyalty withstood every test, enlisting soldiers levied among the negroes of the Sudan.[12] The most pressing problem faced by rulers in the western Maghrib was the recruitment of a reliable military force to insure their authority. The use of the former black slaves provided this stable base for authority and law and order

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[12] Ibid., p. 249-251.

were established through brutal means. The brutality of rule was endured in great part due to the use of force against foreign threats. On numerous occasions during the seventeenth century, Moroccan troops invaded Algeria and battled Turkish troops to prevent encroachment into Morocco.

As the need for manufactured goods grew, Morocco was forced to allow European trading in the country. This increase of European influence within Morocco coupled with the Moroccan towns already in the hands of some European powers worried the sultan. Spain held Ceuta, Melilla, Badis, and Alhucemas; England held Tangiers and Portugal held Mazagan. To reduce this influence and to attempt to recover their occupied territory, Morocco sought to establish a military alliance with France.

One major problem within Morocco was that it did not have a stable bureaucracy or representational bodies to ensure government stability. What resulted was a government which was dependent on a strong military to enforce the sultans' will. Each successive sultan scught to establish his control over all of Morocco but normally could only control parts. It is during the seventeenth century that the Moroccan political concept of bled al-Makhzen and bled as-Siba develops. The bled al-Makhzen being the portion of the state where the governments writ ran and the people have consented either voluntarily or by force to the delegation of higher administrative powers to the sultan. The

bled as-Siba, on the other hand, is the land of permanent tribal dissidence or where the inhabitants do not want to delegate the right to administer themselves to the sultan.

The second quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of war and anarchy throughout Morocco. With the advantage of a strong army, the sultan was able to restore order, defeat the dissidents and to improve relations with the European countries.[13] The only major political problem facing the government was the Berber question which was worsening.

As Morocco enters the nineteenth century we again witness increased European penetration as Morocco was caught between choosing either modernization or isolation. Morocco elected to maintain the status quo and we see the nation drift towards colonization.

During this period the bled al-makhzen included the area between Fez and Marrakesh and extending to the Atlantic while the bled as-siba included most of the Rif, the middle and high Atlas regions and the southern areas. Realizing that he would be unable to control the siba, the sultan granted them autonomy and recognized the authority of the local chiefs. These tribes although refusing to pay taxes to the throne still recognized the spiritual authority of the sharif. We also see continued economic and cultural interaction between the two areas.

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[13] Ibid., p. 262-264.

The French involvement in Algeria finally brought Morocco out of its period of isolation. In the mid nineteenth century Moroccan troops stationed on the Moroccan-Algerian border were defeated by French forces which were pursuing Alerians. This stunning defeat sparked tribal rebellions which in turn further increased French and British involvement in Morocco, in fact Morocco became fair game for any European power. Immigrants were pouring into Morocco establishing schools, businesses, residences and farms. Morocco attempted to stop European intrusion by adopting western ways and increasing their technology. This, however, had the opposite effect since it tended to weaken the existing structure and further increase European involvement in Morocco.

In 1906, a thirteen nation conference was convened to preserve the sultans sovereignty, Moroccan territorial integrity and an open door policy for commercial activity. The Act of Algeciras was adopted on 7 April 1906 which gave France and Spain control of Morocco's police and finances. The sultan with no one to turn to was forced to accept the decision. Spain began taking control of northern Morocco while France was expanding to the south. The sultan could do nothing, the tribes, however, continuously battled the French. The French finally defeated the dissident tribes and on 30 March 1912, the sultan signed the Treaty of Fez which established Morocco as a protectorate of France.

III. TRADITIONALISM

Cultures never give way completely to the new, no matter how ruthless the impact of innovation.[14] This situation particularly creates problems in the new developing states where primordial attachments can cause serious gulfs between the new state and the people. These primordial attachments stem from the "givens" of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the giveness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language and following particular social practices.[15] Daiv Apter puts it more succinctly: traditionalism is the validation of current behavior by reference to immemorial prescriptive norms.[16] It is primordial attachments that are in direct opposition to modernization which assumes a remote relationship between prior values and new goals. There is no accurate yardstick to measure the effect of these primordial attachments as they tend to vary from society to society, however, we can identify the major

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[14]David Apter, Politics of Modernization, p. 81.

[15]Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, p. 259.

[16]David Apter, Op. Cit., p. 83.

factors which make up these attachments. They are assumed blood ties, race, region, language, religion and custom.[17]

Looking at Morocco through these primordial attachments one could expect to find a nation filled with civil strife. Assumed Blood Ties - Here the nation is divided among Arabs and Berbers. In the historical chapter, we witnessed the Arab influx into the western Maghrib and their settling along the coastal enclaves. The Berbers who had formed the basis of the population of the Naghrib since 2000B.C. were virtually untouched until the Arab influx in the seventh century. Prior to the major European intervention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there were two distinct splits in Moroccan society. These were the Arab/Makhzen faction which was primarily Arabs along the coastal plains and the Berber/Siba faction which was primarily a rural tribal society. The rural population within the land of Makhzen, like that of Siba remained clustered in tribal groupings. There were, however, no common kinship claims between the divisions.[18]

Race - This is one area which does not lend itself to a difference in primordial attachments between factions of Moroccan society. Ethnically the nation is virtually

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[17]Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, p. 259-263, Basic Books, Inc., 1973.

[18]Gellner, Saints of the Atlas, p. 3. University of Chicago Press, 1969.

unified with the exception of small pockets of Berber speaking negro tribes.

Language - The national language of Morocco is Arabic, however, only approximately sixty percent of the population is estimated to speak Moroccan Arabic as the first language. Of the approximately forty percent remaining who speak Berber as a first language, about half also speak Arabic.[19] There are several Berber dialects, however, with a little difficulty they can be mutually understood. This is perhaps the most significant difference between the two cultures since it is so readily noticeable and acts as a constant reminder of the other primordial differences between the two groups. Based on linguistics, the Berber visualizes himself only as a part of the tribal division which speaks his dialect and not of a broader linguistically defined ethnic group. The Arab, on the other hand correlates the Berber language with a tribal society and one can assume, based on Moroccan history, that the Arab would subconsciously fear this grup as a possible threat to the current Makhzen or central government.

Region - Morocco has been called "The island of the west" by many Arab historians due to being cut off from the rest of North Africa by the Atlas mountains and the Sahara desert. The effect of this isolation has allowed Morocco

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[19]Nyrop, R. F. and others, Area Handbook For Morocco, p. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

to proceed at its own rate of development while not being unduly influenced by external forces. However, the mountains which provided this favorable situation also influenced internal political development. Due mainly to the mountains, the problems of security and communications were magnified. The various tribal regions of Morocco continuously sought more autonomy from the Makhzen. However, economic constraints insured that there was an overriding need to belong to a Moroccan state. What we again witness in Morocco is a continuous struggle between the forces of regionalism and the central power.[20]

Religion - Although there are significant differences between the urban religion of Morocco and the rural religion, Morocco is a totally Islamic nation.[21] This fact has probably been the greatest common denominator in Morocco and even today is able to transcend the majority of Arab-Berber differences. The Berber or tribal version of Islam with its many brotherhoods, holy men and lodges has not proved to be a stumbling block to the nations religious unity. The single unifying thread in Morocco has been and still is Orthodox Sunnite Islam with the king being imam, caliph and amir.

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[20] E. Burke, "Morocco and the Near East", Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, v. 10, no. 1, 1969.

[21] For an excellent description of the basic differences between urban and tribal religions see: Gellner, Saints of the Atlas, pp. 6-9.

Customs - The term custom actually incorporates all of the other attachments. The custom differences between the two segemtns of society are great and stem mostly from those differences associated with tribal versus urban society.

Now that we have briefly looked at the general primordial attachments of all traditional societies we must try to correlate them to the modernization process in Morocco. Traditional societies can be broken down into the two sub categories of instrumental and consummatory systems which are based on values. In an instrumental system, the ultiamte ends of the society do not affect every action whereas in a consummatory system, change can produce fundamental social upheaval. According to T. Parsons, "Instrumental" systems are those characterized by a large sector of intermediate ends separate from and independent of ultimate ends; "consummatory" systems are those characterized by a close relationship between intermediate and ultimate ends.[22] Instrumental systems are normally characterized by hierarchical authority and in the case of Morocco headed by a king. In this type system, change can be adopted and absorbed as long as the basic system is not threatened. The basic fabric holding this type of society together is the throne. This society will

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[22]David Apter, The Politics of Modernization, p. 85, (footnote).

function well until the basic principle of authority is threatened at which time the system will no longer accept change and the entire system will shift to another principle of authority and a corresponding change in value system. In this regard, Morocco partly fits the description of an instrumental system. The society is willing to accept change which is filtered through the medium of traditional institutions and made to serve tradition, however, it is my contention that Morocco does not fit exactly into the commonly accepted instrumental mold. Morocco is willing to accept changes to affect modernization of the society and these changes are more readily accepted when filtered through traditional institutions. Morocco has faced numerous threats to the principle of kingship without showing any signs of moving towards a consummatory system. In fact the threats to alter the basic kingship system have been fueled by both the Arab and Berber factions of Moroccan society. In this regard Morocco should more aptly be defined as a modified instrumental system. Normally when discussing the value system of a traditional society whether instrumental or consummatory we are discussing a society with common primordial attachments. The basic difference between the societies stemming from their systems of authority whether hierarchical or pyramidal. It is perhaps Morocco's advantage that there are sufficient differences in the primordial attachments that changes towards modernization do not affect Moroccan

society as a unified body. There are sufficient threads of commonality between the two segments which keep them from flying apart at the seams. Historically, Morocco has learned that for either faction to exist there must be a certain amount of mutual cooperation. Islam though differing in style has bound both Arab and Berber closer and the geography of Morocco prohibits autonomy in todays world. The basic premise of this type system is that the kingship principle cannot be challenged. And yet in Morocco the authority to the king is entirely different in both factions of the society. Morocco's past is filled with ambiguity over the role of the sultan as leader of the country. As the political ruler of Morocco, his authority was only accepted by the Makhzen and those other areas which at various times came under the political control of the Makhzen. The remainder of the nation rejected his political authority but rallied behind him as their spiritual leader based on his descendency from the Prophet Mohammed.

The Impact of Islam

According to Geertz, a religion is:

> ..."(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive and long lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing of these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivation seem uniquely realistic".[23]

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[23] C. Geertz, The Interpretations of Cultures, p. 90.

Religion and religious concepts extend beyond the realm of the spiritual and actually provide a general framework of ideas and thinkink patterns which permeate all aspects of life in a traditional religious community. The impact of relition and Islam specifically has a direct application to the acceptance of political modernization in Morocco. We shall see how Islam is more than a set of religious rules for believers to follow but is rather a system of beliefs and practices and a law for the community of believers. The pre-Islamic arab thought only in terms of himself, his family his tribe and his clan while the moslem was led to think in terms of the political community coextensive with the area of the faith. It changed the Arabs view of the world from a division of tribes into one of believers and non believers and the uncontestable relevance of Islam to the modern state.

History in Islamic thought prior to the arrival of Mohammed was a process which was leading to a more perfect world which was culminated by the revelation of God's will to the Prophet. Mohammed is viewed as the last of the prophets and with his final revelations came perfection and one could not expect any further improvement in the interpretation of Divine law. This period is therefore viewed as the golden age of Islam which leads to the natural conclusion that moving away from this period can only move one further away from the golden age. And the further one moves away from this period the less chance there is of

living in accordance with the divine revelations. With this view of history one can readily understnad the Islamic importance placed on tradition. Once the perfect message had been received, it would be wrong to attempt to improve upon it. The ideal situation would be the perfect imitation of the past. The exercise of judgment, Ijtihad, has played an important role in the history of Islamic thought. It is the search for the true meaning of the Koran in regard to any given situation. However, the orthodox theologians fearing individual interpretation have closed the door on ijtihad. What results is that the present generation and future generations are bound by decisions of past generations and independent inquiry cannot be tolerated. If the ancient method of ijtihad were reestablished it could probably solve many of todays problems, however, the fear is that the possibility exists that Islamic law in its entirety would be threatened with the ensuing collapse of Islam.

Coupled with this view of history is the mulims acceptance of predestination. God has given guidance to avoid mechanical laws.

> " Who hath ordained laws and granted guidance..."[24]

> " Nothing will happen to us except what God has decreed for us. He is our

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[24]Quran, 87:3. The Muslim Students Association, 1975.

> Protector and on God let the believers put their trust."[25]

Since God's will is inscrutable it is useless to try and determine any cause and effect relationships. Man has no ability to seek any other truths since God has wisdom which man cannot comprehend and His reasons cannot be questioned or doubted. Islam means submission to the will of God.

> " It is not fitting for a believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His Apostle, to have any option about their decision. If any one disobeys God and His Apostle, he is indeed on a clearly wrong path."[26]

The muslim cannot place his wisdom in competition with the wisdom of God. He must accept God's will loyally and must place his will in accord with the will of God.

Since free will seems to be a crucial prerequisite of achievement motivation stressed by McClelland,[27] the lack of free will as advocated by Islam would appear tobe an obstacle to development.

The Islamic concept of the state also differs significantly from that of the west and also has a profound effect on the muslims idea of western political systems. Islamic

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[25]Quarn, 9:51, The Muslim Students Association, 1975.

[26]Quran, 33:36, The Muslim Students Association, 1975.

[27]D.C. McClelland, The Achieving Society, p. 39-45, The Free Press, 1961.

doctrine generally subordinates the state and the government to the overriding goals of living one's life according to the Koran and the rules revealed to Mohammed. This idea is basic to Islam as revealed, however, the government has historically been entrusted to the system of government we know as the Caliphate. The function of the Caliphate is to guarantee the maintenance of pure Islam in conformity with its laws and to protect the faithful and defend them agsinst heretics and unbelievers.[28]

The holder of the office in the Caliphate is the Caliph andis the defender of the faith, the dispenser of justice andthe leader in prayer and war. What results is a total intertwining of religious, social and political into one integral unit. The muslim has come to expect a certain perfection in his political organizations and should this not be achieved in his mind then the feelings of political obedience would not have to be adhered to. The Caliphate is the only public office in Islam to have its own authority, but the Caliph is still subjugated as are all muslims to the sharia. Islamic theory recognizes the unity of church and state under the Caliphate and was dependent on the Caliph as the instrument and representative of the sacred law. When the political systems in the muslim world diverged from the theocratic ideal, the loyalty of the muslim to the

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[28] E.I.J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam, p. 24, Cambridge University Press, 1958.

political head was no longer absolute. The first loyalty of the muslim is to theideals and institutions of Islam which could necessitate a negative attitude to the ruler.

We can therefore see the total interconnection and interdependence of church and state within the Islamic world.

When speaking today of political modernization and westernization of the Arab world the impact of Islam is profound. In order for a civilization to willingly accept cultural change, a point has to be reached where the society will have to admit to the inferiority of its system. The problems are compounded in Islamic society where admittance to cultural inferiority could undermine the entire structure of its society.

Pre-protectorate Morocco had been conditioned through custom and tradition to the patterns of social conflict. It was in this environment that the extended family and the immediate social group or the tribe formed the main reference points for the individual. The individual identified with a small closely knit group, normally a part of the extended family, or close tribal relations with established patterns of social conflict.

> "Each section of atribe, from the smallest to the largest, has its shaikh shaikhs. The tribal system, typical of segmentary structures everywhere, is a system of balanced opposition between tribes and tribal sections from the largest to the smallest divisions, and there cannot therefore be any single authority in a tribe. Authority is distributed at every point of the tribal structure and political

> leadership is limited to situations in which a tribe or a segment of it acts corporately. There cannot, obviously, be any absolute authority vested in a single shaikh of a tribe when the fundamental principal of tribal structure is opposition between its segments, and in such segmentary systems there is no state and no government as we understand these institutions; and criminal law is absent and civil law exists in only a very rudimentary form."[29]

This hierarchically arranged system of segmental opposition was fundamental to the feuding pattern of Morocco. The tribes were divided amongst themselves and between the various tribes to ensure an equal balance. As E.E. Evans-Pritchard points out: In political systems where a central authority is either weak or non existant, maintenance of tribal structure must rather be attributed to opposition between its minor segments than to any outside pressure.[30]

> "No group can be entirely harmonious, for it would then be devoid of process and structure. Groups require disharmony as well as harmony, dissociation as well as association, and conflicts within them are by no means altogether disruptive factors... on the contrary, both "positive" and "negative" factors build group relations. Conflict as well as cooperation has social functions."[31]

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[29]D.M. Hart, "The Tribe in Modern Morocco," in E. Gellner and C. Micaud (eds), Arabs and Berbers, D.C. Heath and Company, 1972, p. 28.

[30]E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 150.

[31]L. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, p. 31, The Free Press, 1956.

It was precisely these conflict situations which gave the Moroccan 1) A sense of assurance of predicting the behavior of other and 2) Gave the tribe a certain group cohesiveness in its struggle for survival. During pre-protectorate Morocco the basic reference points for a tribal member were the extended family and the clan.

In its institutional structure, Morocco was typical of traditional societies. The Moroccan retained an ascribed status in the community which was the product of family lineage, clan connection and religiosity. He was able to identify with a close kin or religious group. In an exchange for some of his individual personality he was assured of group solidarity. Within this tribal society were sanctioned patterns of conflict based on a hierarhically arranged system of segmental opposition. To achieve a balanced opposition, tribes were subdivided down to the extended family level which would ensure a balanced opposition through an allinace system. In the event of conflict, certain traditional rules were established and adhered to and the conflicts could not be considered disruptive. The conflicts set boundaries between the groups by strengthening group consciousness and awareness of separateness, thus establishing the identity of groups within the system. Even in defeat we do not see domination of the defeated by the victor due to the nomadic nature of the tribes. The defeated unit would either move to a more favorable location or change his allinace groups to

form a more balanced opposition. Training for feuds began during childhood and lasted to adulthood. It was a learning process that taught skills in negotiating, ancestry and rules of accepted conduct.[32]

If we accept Gabriel Almonds view that the unit of a political system is the role and that a political system may be defined as a set of interacting roles then the structure of pre-protectorate Morocco must be considered stable. This is based on the fact that it involves a set of complementary expectations concerning the actors actions and those of others with whom he interacts.[33]

Although providing a measure of stability to society, this segmented society's patterns of conflict placed the nation at a disadvantage when it began to emerge from a predominantly tribal social structure. What we witness is the minimal differentiation of political roles and structures; and did not allow a distinct separation between the political sphere from the religious and social sphere.[34]

The pattern of segmental opposition apparently did not stop with independence in Morocco. A closer look at

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[32]W.H. Lewis, "Feuding and Social Change in Morocco," Journal of Conflict Resolution, v. 5, no. 1, p. 43-54, March 1961.

[33]G.A. Almond, Political Development, p. 32, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1970.

[34]C.H. Moore, Politics in North Africa, p. 11, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1970.

the Moroccan political scene reveals similar practices of alliances and factions continually in motion creating new alliances with verbal attacks and accusations taking the place of physical violence. We continually see political activity and tension resulting in negligible results. Major decisions at the national level are also continually discussed but there are hardly any major decisions made. This continual feuding among individuals and parties can possibly be explained through the tradition bound custom of feuding.

A Moroccan politician rises to a prominent position within the party or government, his movements are very similar to that of a segment of a pre-protectorate alliance. We see continuous attempts to improve his position while throughout the process avoiding any sort of direct confrontation which would possibly force a major shift in alliances. A feeling of continuous tension exists throughout the government but the tension acts as a brake to ensure the status quo. It is in the interests of all competing factions to ensure that the system survives. The Moroccan politician is prepared for all contingencies just as the traditional clans, he will enter whatever political alliance is necessary to ensure a balance. He will avoid direct confrontation with the opposition to avoid a possible defeat by either side. The King on the other hand acts as the supreme arbitor for the entire system. The King will refrain from any political

decision which would measurably tip the scales in favor of one faction over the other. His interests lie in keeping a balance between all opposition parties. His position in todays political arena can be compared to the Agurram of the Berber tribes whose function was to remain neutral and perform the function of mediator between the various alliances.[35] In brief this holy man is the force which maintains the system and gives political stability to a system which without such a brake could be total anarchy.

The Agurram is not a member of a tribe as the King is not a party member but is involved in all aspects of the life of his subjects. Another interesting corollary is the religious association. The Agurraman aids the tribesman in his Islamic identification with claims on descent from the Prophet. The King in a s-milar vein is descended from the Prophet and is the current imam.

The King is vital to the efficient operation of the Moroccan system. As an arbiter he is also concerned in the maintenance of the system to ensure his own political relevance. He cannot eliminate the political factions shince he would lost the intermediaries to the people. He cannot join or create a political party since it could result in his demise at the polls. The role he chose is

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[35]For an excellent description of the role of the agurram in tribal Berber society see Ernest Gellner's Saints of the Atlas, chpater three.

to gain optimum control through the weakening of the other parties without destroying any of them. One faction will be rewarded by political favors and will reciprocate by accepting blame for certain mistakes. Other parties not blessed with favors are free to voice their disfavor with the system giving credence to opposition groups in the system.[36]

This type of system has had to pay a certain price for this policy. The administration has grown enormously, thus providing all at once a source of patronage and a means of control and the need to balance one faction against another creates its own internal stimulus to growth. A political machine which grows in this fashion normally cannot be expected to operate in the best efficiency.[37]

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[36]E. Burke, "Morocco and the Near East," Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, v. 10, no. 1, 1969.

[37]E. Gellner, "The Great Patron", Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, v. 10, no. 1, 1969.

IV. FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND ROLE OF THE KING

Political parties in Morocco were created by groups of young intellectuals after the establishment of the protectorate. Originally these groups were designed as a medium for issuing protests to the French based on the rights of Moroccans and their treatment by the French. They were a direct result of the growth of nationalism in the country and the original leaders did not have desings on a political organization. However, the impact these early movements had on Moroccan political development was enormous. Apter states: "In the area of political modernization, no single role is of greater importance than that of party politician... The political party is such a critical force for modernization in all contemporary societies that the particular pattern of modernization adopted by each is quite often determined by its parties."[38]

The Growth of Nationalism

Prior to the establishment of the French Protectorate, Morocco was govened under a theocratic system which was under the temporal and spiritual rule of the sultan. The absolute power he had was tempered only by the various

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[38] D. Apter, The Politics of Modernization, p. 179.

interpretations of the Sharia. The arrival of the French in Morocco causes drastic changes in Moroccan political life. Although the French retained the traditional administration it was a parallel French administration which actually ruled Morocco although their political dahirs were issued through the traditional government. We are going to look at the growth of nationalism in Morocco as a direct result of the treatment afforded the Moroccans by the French andthe French's non acceptance of the Moroccans on an equal status with the French colons. It should be mentioned that another underlying cause for the growth of nationalism was also the impact of the western rational system on the Moroccan traditional system. A typical manifestation of this conflict of political cultures is frequently charismatic nationalism and can be considered in part as a movement towards accepting a new system of political norms.[39] The French goal in Morocco was mainly to protect their prime interest which was Algeria by insulating Algeria with a series of buffer states. In addition they wanted to take advantage of Morocco by establishing a modern infrastructure, rebuilding the economy and a total modernization of the nation. The favorable environment in Morocco led to massive French investments and immigration by French citizens to Morocco which resulted

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[39]G. Almond, Political Development, p. 40-41.

in the major portion of economic gains going to French citizens and a corresponding decline in opportunities for Moroccans. As more and more Moroccans demanded equal treatment and equal opportunity we witness the growth of the nationalist movement. Instead of dealing with the issues and trying to appease the new nationalists, the French attempt to counter it through a policy of divide and rule. The French begin to enflame the age-old Berber-Arab differences and attempt to creat dissension between the sultan and the various tribes.[40] It is at this point in 1926, that two nationalist societies were independently formed by Allal al-Fassi and Ahmed Balafrej. These societies did not have much popular backing until 1930 and the issuance of the Berber dahir by the French. This edict was a further attempt by the French to divide the nation by recognizing Berber tribal law within the Berber areas and not having them adhere to the customary Makhzen law.[41] This had an effect opposite to that which the French had

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[40] L. Duclos, "The Berbers and the Rise of Moroccan Nationalism", in E. Gellner and C. Micaud (eds), Arabs and Berbers, D.C. Heath and Company, p. 217-229, 1972.

[41] Samuel Huntington attributes the strength and survival of many traditional systems to the colonial influence. I feel, however, that in Morocco's case it is slightly different. The area under direct French influence in Morocco (the urban areas) moved rapidly away from traditional beliefs while the rural areas remained traditional. The rural areas were not entirely under French rule until the mid thirties and it was shortly after this that the nationalist drive began. Huntington, S.P., "The Political Modernization of Traditional Monarchies," Daedalus, v. 95, Summer 1966, p. 763-787.

anticipated and now the Berbers joined in the nationalist struggle.

In 1934 when France completed the occupation of Morocco, a group of intellectuals formed the Committee d'Action Marocaine (CAM) and presented the French with a list of demands for reforms. They claimed the protectorate policy was both racially and fiscally unjust and demanded that the policy of direct administration be abolished and France should become a technical advisor until self government could be achieved. This marked the entry of the nationalists into the political sphere. The French as expected continued their policy of refusing to deal with the nationalists and refused to cnsider any of their reform demands. In 1937 the CAM evolved into the National Party for the realization of the Plan for Reforms and was headed by al-Fassi. Al-Fassi can be classified as a liberal democrat in politics, a socialist in economics and a progressive conservative in religion. His entire political philosophy and outlook was colored by his belief in the religious and political unity of Islam. He encouraged the use of reason in the acceptance or rejection of new ideas. A true nationalist as he preached for Islam, country, education, use of arabic and a modern Morocco. Politically he wanted an independent Morocco with a government that was responsible to the people and not tothe King and sovereignty vested in the people through a constitutional monarchy. His new party instigated demonstrations throughout the nation against the

French and resulted in the exile of al-Fassi. During his exile and through the early years of World War Two, the nationalist movement slowed. In 1943 we see the creation of the first organized political party with the creation of the Istiqlal Party as an outgrowth of the CAM. In January 1944 the new party demands full independence from France.[42] The impact of the Istiqlal Party and the modernization of Morocco cannot be overstated. For the first time in Moroccan history, a political organization was going to the people to arouse political interest. The use of the communications media and the interest created among the masses for political action has a direct link with the speed of modernization. The party enters all aspects of life and brings about new ideas and links the public and the leadership in such a way that power is generated, mobilized and directed.[43]

The Growth of Political Parties

The rebirth of nationalism, the creation of the Istiqlal Party and the demand for independence resulted in great part from the conditions generated by World War Two. The early French defeats in the war by the Germans resulted in a severe loss of face for the French in the eyes of the

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[42]D.E. Ashford, Political Change in Morocco, p. 57, Princeton University Press, 1961.

[43]D.E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization, p. 179-222.

Moroccans. The involvement of Moroccan soldiers in the defense of France created a feeling in Morocco that Moroccans had earned their freedom. Involvement with the Americans also had an effect in bringing new hope through reinforcing Moroccan ideas of independence.[44]

The Istiqlal Party

After the end of the war, the party underwent drastic changes in its organization and policy. The new policy adopted by its leaders was geared to the education of its members through a cell structure. These cells were designed to complete the education of those party members educated in the French system. The Istiqlal Party extended its control to a number of lesser non-political organizations which strengthened its political position as a force to be reckoned with. In 1945, the Istiqlal appealed directly to the United Nations for independence and this marked the first time they had disregarded the French and had gone directly to an international body. It was during this period that the sultan was becoming more sympathetic towards the policies advocated by the party. In the early part of 1946, Morocco was appointed a new Resident General. He was no sooner established in office when the Istiqlal Party presented him with their demands for the creation of a new

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[44]S. Bernard, The Franco-Morrocan Conflict, p. 15-19, Yale University Press, 1969.

government. Their demands included such things as the basic freedoms for Moroccans and the release of political prisoners. The French government responded with the release of al-Fassi, Ouazzani and Balafrej. The Istiqlal Party — with new fervor with the return of its original founders set its course on growth and recruitment. It was during this period that the party was divided on the actions they should pursue towards independence. One group headed by al-Fassi and Balafrej favored immediate independence whereas Ouazzani's faction looked toward a period of cooperation with the French and a grdual transition of power within the government towards the final goal of independence. This split finally ruptured as the moderate group broke off from the Istiqlal and formed the Democratic Party for Independence (PDI) in 1946. This party appealed mostly to the middle class but did not receive the mass support they had expected due mainly to the strength and organization of the Istiqlal. In 1947, the sultan who had been aligning himself more closely with the Istiqlal Party, speaking in Tangiers advocated many of the party's positions while avoiding any of the customary praises for the French. This resulted in a drastic change in French policy as they tightened their political control on Morocco.[45] The Istiqlal, realizing that their goal for independence was

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[45]D.E. Ashford, Political Change in Morocco, p. 66-67.

not close at hand settled down to a long period of passive resistance directed at the French. The sultan also manifested his dissatisfaction through his threatened refusals to sign various French dahirs. The following five years marked an era of deteriorating relations between the Istiqlal Party and the French. In 1951, French pressures finally forced the sultan to disavow the Party and the Istiqlal responded by joining forces with the PDI, the National Reform Party and the Unity and Independence Party to form the National Liberation Front. This new coalition sought immediate and total independence from France. Simultaneously, the Istiqlal had been infiltrating into Moroccan labor unions to orient labor towards Moroccan independence.

The Violent Resistance Phase

The death of a Tunisian nationalist leader by Tunisian police in December 1952 touched off an Istiqlal backed protest strike in Casablanca. A violent two day struggle ensued as the violent phase in the struggle for independence began. The French reaction was to charge both the Istiqlal Party and the Communist Party with collusion to provoke insurrection and the Istiqlal was outlawed and forced underground. In 1953 a French dahir, which would have given the French the right to vote in Moroccan elections was given to the sultan to sign. This dahir would have instituted a policy of co-sovereignty and the sultan refused to sign since it violated the Treaty of Fez. Along with the support

of al-Glawi, a powerful Berber chieftain, the French deposed Mohammed V and established his cousin on the throne. What followed was a public outpouring for the return of the King from both Arab and Berber. Terrorism erupts throughout the country as the role of the Istiqlal disappears with the growth of the resistance movement and the formation of the Liberation Army. Violence continues to increase throughout the nation and terrorism was widespread with the only major organized force being the Liberation Army. This army was growing significantly in size and strength and by 1955 had taken to attacking French units. The strength of the Liberation Army and its threat of joining with Algerian forces, French domestic problems and the Algerian war resulted in the French allowing the return of the exiled sultan. The agreement also included allowing the sultan to form a government which would draft institutional reforms leading to the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy.[46]

The Role of Mohammed V

During the French Protectorate days, the monarchy although technically the legal head of state had virtually no power since all politically important decisions concerning Morocco were issued by the French through the King. Therefore, when Mohammed V returned from exile he found himself in a very peculiar position of going from a minimum of

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[46] S. Bernard, The Franco Moroccan Conflict, p. 297-337.

authority at the time of his exile to being the actual ruler with all of the associated powers when he returned. This lack of experience in the actual running of a government would have great repercussions in the political handling of Moroccan affairs. His reign could be characterized by no major reforms and no political development. Mohammed V at the time of his exile had been closely allied with the Istiqlal Party which accounted in great part to his exile. Upon his return it was only natural that this relationship would not have been totally disrupted. The King also realized that at the time of his return, Morocco continued to be divided by numerous political factions held together by the traditional conflict patterns. These factors more than likely led him to the conclusion that a cnstitutional monarchy with representational government would be best for the nation. Prior to nis return to power, Mohammed V promised the Istiqlal and the PDI that an independent Morocco would be a constitutional monarchy. On November 18, 1955 upon his return from exile he pledged to "establish democratic institutions which will spring out of free elections ... within the framework of a constitutional monarchy."[47] With all the different factions, Mohammed V must have realized that for a new independent Moroccan government to function properly he would have to disassociate himself from a total alignment with

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[47]Beling, W.A., "Some Applications of the New Constituional Monarchy in Morocco," The Middle East Journal, v. 18, Spring 1964, p. 164.

the Istiqlal and give some important positions to other parties. This author feels that to remain totally aligned with the Istiqlal would at the very least have caused serious problems in the Berber/rural areas. The King therefore delegated many of his powers to the newly formed government and to cabinet ministers and local appointed officials. He chose a consultative assembly made up of political parties, labor and business groups and religious leaders who would meet, discuss and criticize government action although at this time they did not have the power to initiate reform. The King included the Democratic Party in the first council of government and later included ministers of the Liberal Independence Party in the second council of government. These actions would help in his goal to foster the growth of organized political opposition to the Istiqlal. The nationalistic drive for independence also demanded that he be a progressive leader and in keeping with his previous statements must drive the nation towards a democratic, representational form of government. The Istiqlal during this period provided both advantages and disadvantages for the King. They were powerful enough to assist him in any political reforms they mutually agreed upon but on the other hand they could also block any reforms they were not in accordance with. Therefore the King resorted to the traditional Moroccan practice of divide and rule through his manipulation of rival political factions. This manifested itself very well in the creation of the first

government on December 7, 1955 in which the King gave only ten of the twenty one cabinet posts to the Istiqlal Party although their strength would have entitled them to a larger number. Istiqlal support subsequent to independence was still strong and due basically to the same political platform they held during their drive for independence. The Istiqlal still laid irredentist claims to those areas beyond her borders to create the greater Morocco. They continually espoused the idea of a representational government in the form of a constitutional monarchy with individual and civil liberties. Independence was still a goal but this time it was to avoid interdependence with France. This new government, due mainly to inexperience in government and a lack of adequate preparation, did not produce any immediate significant material gains the people had come to expect in the nationalist drive culminated by independence. Unahppy with governmental progress, the Istiqlal leaders threatened withdrawal from the government. These extreme pressures from such a powerful party forced the King to succumb and in October 1956 the second government was formed which eliminated the Democratic Party from an active role in government.[48] In 1956, Mohammed V outlined his proposed scenario to

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[48] Ashford, D.E., Political Change in Morocco, p. 221. Also, "Sultan Revises Morocco Regime," The New York Times, October 27, 1956, p. 1:8.

eventually achieve a constitutional monarchy. To initiate the populace to a democratic form of government he called for local election the following year, the creation of regional assemblies and finally a constitutional assembly to implement the constitution. The local elections, however, were continually delayed due to his fears of electing inexperienced political officials to important positions. It was during the latter part of 1957 that we see the formation of another opposition party. The Popular Movement Part was a rural Berber looked upon favorably by the King although he could not publically endorse it due to the strength of the Istiqlal with whom it was competing. The cry for elections was being sung by all parties but they all differed on the type of representation. The Istiqlal felt they were the most politically knowledgable and did not advocate proportional representation which would foster the growth of smaller parties and weaken their overall strength. The PDI on the other hand advocated proportional representation while the new PM and the Liberal Independents sought single member districts with the PM desiring it to be based on tribal units. The Istiqlal ministers finally left the government and the King was forced to create the third council of government in April 1958.[49] This new cabinet was composed

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[49]"Morocco Cabinet Dissolved By King," The New York Times, April 17, 1958, p. 13:3.

entirely of Istiqlal Party members in all ministries and included an Istiqlal President and Vice President.[50] The new government with a good platform and the power that it had sought for so long, suddenly became plagued with internal dissension.[51] The political goals and ideas were boudn to come to a head with such a diverse party membership. Party leadership varied from the traditionalists (al-Fassi), businessmen (Laraki), western oriented royalist (Balafrej) to left wing radicals (Ben Barka). The solidarity of the Istiqlal Party had been preserved through the initial adjustment to independence but at the disadvantage which was currently manifesting itself in its lack of party preparation for the future. The vast array of social and political development problems eventually took its toll as individuals within the party had different ideas on how to cope with those problems. Major issues of dissension included the role of the monarchy, the selection of delegates and the responsibilities of the various Ministers. In January 1959 the split came as Ben Barka with excellent support from Moroccan labor broke with the Party. In September he forms a new political front under the name of the National Union of

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[50]"Morocco Inducts Rightest Cabinet," The New York Times, May 13, 1958.

[51]Ashford, D.E., Political Change in Morocco, p. 103-106. The New York Times, May 13, 1958, p. 3:4, May 24, 1958, p. 4:3.

Popular Forces (UNFP).[52] What we were witnessing in Morocco was the problems associated with a rapidly modernizing society that is adjusting well to the pressures of a new government. The new parties were interested mostly in internal politics with opposition focusing on other political problems without resorting to widespread violence. We did not witness opposition leaders attacking the new government as being illegitimate but rather they took to the creation of new political parties or splinter groups with their sights set on reforms. One cannot underestimate the role of the monarchy during these initial years of Moroccan independence. In a newly modernizing nation the violence usually erupts from the segment of society which is the least politically astute. In Morocco, however, during this period it was mostly to this segment of society, the rural faction, that the King as religious leader provided them a figure to rally behind. After independence, the Istiqlal Party was rapidly converting the Moroccan political system into a single party state and yet by 1959 the Party had split, minsters had left the Istiqlal, newspapers had appeared and instead of having one party with different groups, Moroccan politics had progressed to the organization of interest parties. Immediately after independence membership in the system was equated with allegiance to the King

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[52]"Moroccan Leftist Forms Party," The New York Times, September 7, 1959, p. 3:1.

and not to a political organization. He legitimized the system through his traditional position as head of state and of religion and through his leadership in the struggle for independence. Mohammed V was intelligent enough to see the dangers of a single party state and while seeking party loyalty to the throne he set out to weaken the Istiqlal Party without destroying it. He was successful in encouraging other parties, keeping the army loyal to him through his son the Crown Prince and appointed governors loyal to him to the various provinces.[53] By 1960, the government was comprised mostly of members of the UNFP, some of which were becoming more vocal about their dissatisfaction with the monarchy. With Crown Prince Hassan taking a more active role in politics, the monarchy began to take a turn away from its traditional position as arbiter and began to align itself more with the conservatives while in the process alienating themselves from the leftist parties, namely the UNFP.

In 1961, the unexpected death of Mohammed V carried Crown Prince Hassan to the throne. The death of his father actually eased his transition to power as the nation mourned for Mohammed V. Realizing that he must generate some political support, one of his first actions as King was to delegate some monarchial duties to cabinet members who supported the

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[53]Zartman, I.W., Political Pluralism in Morocco, Government and Opposition, July-October 1967, p. 568-583.

throne. Also to ensure the continued support of the conservative parties he reorganized the cabinet. Hassan knew that without Istiqlal support, the possibility existed for a reunion of the Istiqlal and the UNFP with the eventual result being a single party state. The new cabinet ensured Hassan of conservative support and he could now direct his attention to the left wing UNFP.

The politically astute Hassan had successfully made the transition to the throne despite his former image as a western playboy. However, this honeymoon would not last unless he could fulfill the promise of his father that the nation would have a constitution by 1962. The expectation of the people as well as the parties had once again been flamed. Hardly any work had been done on the new constitution and Hassan was being pressured for time. He sought French help and in a relatively short time they produced a document patterned after the French constitution of 1958. In short, the new constitution consolidated his power and virtually kept all the powers he held previously and in addition it gave him emergency powers to dissolve the government ahould the constitution be threatened. It also prohibited the formation of a single party state and that cabinet posts need not be based on proportional representation of the parliament. The new constituion was placed on a national referendum ballot in December 1962 and received mixed support from the parties. The UNFP elected to boycott the election

since the new constitution did little in the way of democratic reform.[54] The small communist party directly opposed it while the Istiqlal and the remaining parties supported it. When the results were in, the popular vote definitely supported Hassan as ninety six percent of the voters were pleased with the constitution.[55] This vote cannot be considered as overwhelming support since the voters only had a yes or no alternative and one could draw the conclusion that any constitution would be a step in the right direction even though it did not contain all of the desired features.

The next major political test for the King was the House of Representatives election set for May 1963. With unofficial support from the monarchy, a new political party was formed comprised of conservative and rural elements. Their platform consisted mainly of support for Hassan and advocated economic reforms and support for the constitutional monarchy. With this new party, Front pour la'Defense des Institutions Constitutionelles (FDIC), created in March 1963 the King expected to sweep the elections.[56] Estimates of FDIC success in the elections were that they would receive as many as one hundred and ten seats in the 144 man house. When the results were counted, the FDIC had received 34 percent

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[54]"Moroccan Leftists Urge Vote Boycott," The New York Times, November 17, 1962, 6:4.

[55]"Morocco Backing of Hassan Dismays Cairo Arab Socialists," The New York Times, December 11, 1962, 2:1

[56]"Moroccan Royalists Form a New Party," The New York Times, March 21, 1963, 2:1.

of the vote and had won sixty nine seats.[57] The Istiqlal Party took 30 percent and forty one seats while the UNFP had 22 percent of the vote and won twenty eight seats. Independents had 14 percent of the vote and six seats in the house.[58] The failure of the FDIC to obtain their forecasted number of seats was due in great part to the superior organization of the Istiqlal and the UNFP. In addition, many rural votes were lost to independent candidates when former backers of the Popular Movement resented the anticipated domination of their party by urban politicians. The result of this election produced the expected response by the monarchy to try and diffuse some of the strength of the Istiqlal and the UNFP. The government, with questionable evidence arrested several Istiqlal deputies and followed this with the arrest of hundreds of UNFP members and party leaders charging them with subversive activities against the state. The result of this was that all opposition parties intensified their verbal attacks on the regime which hampered effective government operation. A timely border war with neighboring Algeria during the latter part of 1963 managed to rally the country and the political parties behind the monarchy in a show of national solidarity. The

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[57]"Hassans Policies Periled by Vote," The New York Times, March 21, 1963, 4:3.

[58]Gallagher, C.F., "The Meanings of Moroccan Elections," AUFS North Africa Series, v. 9, June 1963, p. 8.

portion of the border in question had been a problem area and had been disputed by Morocco since independence, however, the conflict seemed to occur at a very opportune time. This border area had not been legally defined throughout Morocco's protectorate period and once independence was achieved Morocco decided to await the outcome of the Algerian conflict before trying to resolve the issue. However, once Algeria received their independnece they were not very receptive to the idea of ceding a portion of their new nation to Morocco. Relations between the two nations gradually strained and finally when Morocco accused Aleria of supporting rebels which were attempting to overthrow the Moroccan regime the crisis came to a head. Border clashes increased and finally Morocco invaded Alergeria and moved deep into the disputed areas. Major battles ensued with Morocco definitely the victor, however, Morocco did not obtain the territory.[59] With this military victory, Morocco again returned to the problems of domestic politics as the king inaugurated the new parliament. The new parliament was declared illegal by both the Istiqlal and the UNFP on the grounds that the elections had been rigged and that the King still held all of his former powers and could override any decisions taken by the parliament. Additionally, the King had antagonized the Istiqlal Party by totally eliminating them from the new

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[59] The New York Times, October 15, 1963, p. 1:8.

government. Fearing the polarization of these two major opposition parties, the monarchy again encouraged the formation of yet another political party, the Democratic Socialist Party (PSD) which was formed in 1964 and answered the public outcry for more socialist reforms.[60] The UNFP and the Istiqlal began to undermine the Kings position, while at the same time the FDIC began to crumble as the individual coalitions within the Party were demanding more representation in return for their support for the King. As Hassan witnessed his loss of control of the parliament he declared a state of emergency, suspended parliament and promised constitutional revisions.[61]

The basic problem stemmed from the belief by the opposition that the King was unbending, relying only on total support which was resulting in direct rule. The Moroccan tradition of balanced opposition was being eroded and the King was no longer the arbiter of balanced political parties. The King needed time to regroup and during the next several years would attempt to restore the original image of the Monarchy. During the next several years the democratic process could not be found in MOrocco as Hassan appointed a new council of ministers and took full legislative and

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[60]"New Party Seeks To Lead Morocco," The New York Times, April 13, 1964, 9:3.

[61]"Moroccan King Takes Power in Deadlock of Party Leaders," The New York Times, June 8, 1965, 4:4.

executive powers. This period was not toally devoid of accomplishments as many reforms were initiated and implemented with the continued promise of new elections and a new constitution.

It was not until 1970 that a new parliament was elected and a revised constitution approved. The new parliament now consisted of one branch as opposed to the previous parliament with two branches. It would be composed of 240 representatives of which ninety would be elected by the people, ninety by local councils and sixty appointed. The powers of the King were substantially increased to the point where it appeared that the nation was being governed by an absolute monarch through the facade of an elected parliament. It was no wonder that the elections were boycotted by all opposition parties and the labor unions. The opposition parties hopes had been shattered and this brought the Istiqlal Party and the UNFP together in a National Front to oppose the monarchy. The National Front claimed that the new parliament was designed to provide a built in majority for the King and that the constitution did not contain any relinquishing of power by the King. The opposition party also claimed that the referendum vote had been rigged in favor of the monarchy and the high percentage figure showing support for the king did not reflect the true feelings of the people.[62]

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[62]"Foes of Regime in Morocco Unite," The New York Times, August 2, 1970, 8:1.

This referendum vote on July 25th resulted in almost unanimous approval for the new constitution proposed by the King. A-cording to Ministry of Interior figures, 4,498,662 votes were cast with 4,443,561 in favor and 55,101 against for a percentage of 98.7 favoring the new constitution.[63] Through the next year popular support for the King was on the decline as illustrated by worker strikes, student riots and through the voice of the National Front. On July 10, 1971 Morocco experienced the first of two attempts on the life of the King. Both of these attempts were by the military and many observers thought that this demonstrated the gradual collapse of a civilian-military alliance or perhaps the collapse of a clientele relationship which King Hassan had nurtured whilewhile he was Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and since he acceded to the throne. However, with the exception of several high ranking generals who were politically motivated, the majority of the participants in these events were not aware that it was in fact a coup attempt.[64]

In August, the new government was appointed which did not include any members of opposition parties. This further incensed the opposition who stepped up their campaign against the monarchy. The King had additionally lost a great portion

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[63]"Constitutional Referendum," Africa Research Bulletin, July 1-31, 1970, p. 1807-1809.

[64]"Attempted Coup," Africa Research Bulletin, July 1-31, 1971, p. 2165-2168. For an excellent article on the July coup attempt see: Waterbury, J., "The Coup Manque," AUFS North Africa Series, v. 15, July 1971.

of his military support due to the coup and the resulting army reorganization. To bolster his popular support he instituted a series of reforms to increase wages, reduce taxes and income tax, eliminate corruption and a land redistribution program to enlist support from the rural masses.[65] Realizing his predicament, reforms were promised for the following year which would include a new government, a new parliament and the third constitution. Hassan agreed to relinquish some of his powers and to allow participation in the government by the opposition parties. The new reforms were to greatly increase parliamentary power and correspondingly reduce that of the monarchy. The King, however, would still retain the right to overrule parliament in addition to the power to seize the government in the event he felt that the constitution was being threatened. The election of parliament was also changed to allow two thirds of the body to be elected through direct vote and the remaining one third by local groups which reversed the pattern of the former constitution.[66] The new reforms preserve the monarch's position as Commander of the Faithful and absolute master in the choice of his successor. He also remains the sole judge in determining which events justify the proclamation of a

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[65] Africa Research Bulletin, July 1-31, 1971, p. 2165-2168. "Morocco Acts To End Grievances That Led To Attempted Coup," The New York Times, October 17, 1971, 26:1

[66] "Morocco's Ruler Agrees To Give Up Some Power," The New York Times, February 18, 1972, 6:4.

state of emergency and was still allowed to dissolve the parliament. During this time period we are also witnessing a change in the traditional view of the monarchy. The older generation still felt the need for a King but many university students agreed with the UNFP position that the King if required should reign and not rule.

In August 1972 the second attempt is made on Hassan's life and once again the attempt came from the military, however, the King blamed the instability of the political parties for the mutiny of the military.[67] The opposition was still demanding a new constitution to redefine the role of the King and demanded a government controlled by the people. The major parties refused a call by the King to join in a cabinet of National Union to form a new government. The new government once again contained no members of opposition parties. A period of semi-dictatorial rule follows as the promised elections and the principle of a constitutional monarchy are placed aside. The leftist UNFP party is banned and many of its leaders are arrested for alleged terrorist activities.[68] Morocco undergoes a period of unrest which is highlighted by plots, trials, jailings and executions.[69] These events coupled with Kings promise of new legislative

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[67]"Morocco Kings Escape From Assassination Attempt is Second in 13 Months," The New York Times, August 17, 1972, 10:3

[68]"Morocco Bans Leftist Party and Seizes Many Members," The New York Times, April 3, 1973, 33:1.

[69]"Hassan Curbs Unrest With Iron Hand," The New York Times, January 28, 1974, 3:1.

elections in 1975 leads to the creation of several new opposition political parties during 1974. During 1975, however, the King was once again to delay the elections due to situation in the Western Sahara. Hassan promised the elections once the Western (Spanish) Sahara issue is resolved.[70] This reason satisfied both the people as well as the political parties since Morocco was fighting a desert war against Spanish troops and then against Polisario troops. The King received additional support and the nation rallied behind him for his famour "Green March" in which 350,000 Moroccans were scheduled to cross the Moroccan border in a peaceful march to occupy the Western Sahara. The march ended successfully for Morocco and was culminated with the Tripartite agreement in November 1975 between Spain, Mauritania and Morocco. The entire Western Sahara issue was a godsend for Hassan who desperately needed national support. In April 1976 the Western Sahara issue finally came to a close as Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement dividing up the former Spanish territory.

The King in keeping with his promise scheduled parliamentary elections for the following year. The first phase of the election process began in November 1976 with the first local elections since 1969. A total of 42,607

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[70] Arab Report and Record, 1-15 March 1975, p. 169-170.

candidates ran for 13,358 seats in balloting which was intended to prepare for the election of a new parliament under a new constitution.[71] The results of the election identified the biggest winners as non party candidates who won 8,607 seats, followed by the Istiqlal with 2,184 seats, the PM with 1,045 and the USFP with 874 seats. The results also indicated strong support for Hassan since most of the independent candidates were supporters of current policies but had not jelled together sufficiently for the formation of political parties. The parliamentary elections in June of this year were equally impressive as support for King Hassan's policies. Of the 176 seats being voted on, independents received eighty one while seats for the remaining parties were: Istiqlal (45), PM (29), USFP (16) and other parties (5).[72] During the June elections King Hassan was careful to avoid any endorsement of a party or a candidate. The independents were so successful because having the political process back in operation allowed the major parties to attack each other to the benefit of the independents. It almost appears that the King has gone the full circle and we have returned to the traditional role of the Moroccan monarchy that of being the arbiter between balanced opposition.

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[71] Africa Research Bulletin, November 1-30, 1976, p. 4223.

[72] FBIS, MEA 77-108 Monday 6 June 1977, vol. V, no. 108.

It does appear that the King realizes that the nation is maturing politically and is ready to accept the reins of government. Within the very near future we should witness the total relinquishing of legislative and executive powers as the nation finally achieves the constitutional monarchy status they have sought for so long.

V. ELITES

In examining Morocco after independence it becomes increasingly difficult to try and identify the elite class. We should not make the mistake in Morocco of only including within the elite class, only those individuals who have either been elected or appointed to various high political offices. There certainly cannot be any doubt that these positions are important, however, we cannot restrict ourselves to them alone. We must examine the entire spectrum of Moroccan society in search of other groups or persons which play a significant role in domestic and international political decisions.

The question of elite selection depends on how one approaches the problem. Are the elites a separate group within the country who think and act in ways which differentiate them from the rest of society or rather are they those individuals within the society who maintain positions of power and authority with no specific differentiating characteristics from the rest of that society? It therefore becomes necessary to establish certain boundaries prior to discussing elites if one selects the latter. I feel that this is the case so we must therefore arbitrarily select certain groups of people within Moroccan society and examine the characteristics of these groups and the power and authority they wield.

Prior to discussing elites we should initially establish some definition of what it is we are discussing. One of the more widely accepted all encompassing definitions is that of Harold Lasswell: "The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential ... The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get ... Those who get the most are elite; the rest are mass."[73] In studying elites one normally establishes some correlation between social status and the political power those persons wield. As stated earlier, a common approach is to just select the high office holder. A more realistic approach is to search for some functional criteria to identify the real elite. This obviously unveils an array of arbitrary decisions. To begin the discussion of Moroccan elites we start by examining the political change which has occurred as Morocco progressed from a traditional society. Prior to 1912 and the establishment of the French protectorate one could readily determine the elite class. As in most traditional societies there is a great disparity between the "have's" and the "have-not's". These differences can manifest themselves ethnically or culturally but always in terms of class position and functions. In addition there is normally very little interaction between the two classes except for minor peasant revolts.

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[73]Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Study of Elites: Who's Who, When, and How," World Politics, 18, 4, July 1966, p. 690.

What we do witness, however, is the political interaction between the aristocrats which manifests itself in dynastic changes and boundary changes.[74]

Prior to the establishment of the protectorate, Moroccan society was organized in such a way as to preclude the formation of a national ruling class. Morocco did not have a state structure which could be recognized by western standards, nor did they have a ruling class which fit into the western models. The primary reason for this was the political division of the country into the Blad al Makhzan and the Blad as Siba. The only recognized elites during this time were the ruling Makhzen families which had contact with European countries. Within the Siba there was no ruling class as such, since the leadership of the various tribes was passed along to different families. The situation within the Makhzen was considerably different and the firmly established ruling class consisted of merchants, the makhzen families employed by the government and the descendants of the prophet who held political as well as religious roles.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, problems in Morocco increased which led to the establishment of the protectorate. The interaction between the Moroccan traditional state and the French modern industrial state

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[74]J. H. Kautsky, "Patterns of Elite Succession in the Process of Development," The Journal of Politics, v. 31.

produced the growth of a group of modernizers within Morocco. This group consisted mainly of young people from upper middle class merchants and the established ruling class. This was due in great part to French education system which will be discussed later. This newly formed educated group could be regarded as intellectuals and they acquired professional skills and values normally reserved for a modern society.

In order to achieve their goals of rapid modernization within their nation this new group of modernizers had to obtain control of the government. They did not have the required capital or backing to modernize, nor did they trust foreign investment so the only avenue left open was control of the government to affect their goals. To achieve this goal they had to remove all vestiges of foreign colonialism, remove the native aristocracy and be able to influence governmental decisions.

These new modernizers had three main orientations:
Nationalitarian/Scripturalist - This group characterized the Moroccan rennaissance. They stressed the use, revision and celebration of their Islamic heritage and the use of Arabic. The colonial situation was in direct conflict with this group which was led by Allal al-Fassi.
Liberal Modernization - This group was characterized by those intelligentsia who were exposed to the European experience and wanted to reshape Moroccan society along European lines. This group was in turn split into two factions in which the

first only demanded participation in the political process and the second which called for total mobilization against the colonial regime.

Radical Intelligentsia and Workers - This last group wanted a totally new scheme of social organization involving self-management and cooperative organization. The main figure in the last group was Mehdi ben Barka.[75]

These were the thre main focuses of the new modernizers in Morocco and even at this writing it is difficult to ascertain which group predominated in the amalgam that resulted. Many of these new modernizers have since been incorporated into the bureaucracy and are a part of todays elite class.

According to Octave Marais, the political class of Morocco today consists mainly of those personalities coming from the higher ranks of the Istiqlal Party or those high appointees made by the King. According to Marais, there has been a permanent break with the old ruling class. He does concede, however, that familial ties from pre-protectorate days helped to prevent too drastic a purge. He goes on to say that the political class today numbers less than one thousand and includes politicians holding positions in government, the political parties, trade unions and individuals

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[75]Hermassi, E., Leadership and National Development in North Africa, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972, pp. 91-99.

in high administrative positions. Additionally he includes any religious whose position could be used for political influence. This group includes religious leaders within the towns and in the Berber tribes. The military senior officers are included since they appear as a more or less homogeneous group.[76]

The Marais figure of one thousand is corroborated by Waterbury who includes all Moroccans who have an actual or potential influence on decision making and the distribution of spoils and patronage and who articulate occasionally or persistantly their demands.[77] The total elite class according to Waterbury numbers one thousand and eighty and is broken down as follows: 100 army officers; 450 administrators of the Ministry of the Interior; 300 officials in the rest of the administration; 130 prominent politicians and union leaders; and 100 members of economic organizations, independents and ulema.[78] He does admit that there is a degree of overlap between the various categories.

Although Marais tends to downplay the role of kinship in the current Moroccan elite I tend to feel that the present

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[76]Octave Marais, 'La classe dirigeante au Maroc', Revue Francaise de Science Politique, vol. 14, no. 4, 1964, pp. 709-37.

[77]John Waterbury, The Commander of the Faithful, Columbia University Press, New York, 1970, p. 82.

[78]Ibid., p. 86.

elite today is an outgrowth of the pre-protectorate elites. Familial ties in Morocco are still extremely strong and it is the sons of the wealthy influential families who had the opportunity for educational advancement. If there is any one characteristic which would set apart todays elite from the rest of Moroccan society it is education. In a country where eighty percent of the population are illiterate, the elite are a minority. Additionally, these educated Moroccans were almost all educated during the protectorate years under an educational system which was based on an elite class. A typical French saying was: "When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches: when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French colonize, they build schools."[79] The French with a pride and self-confidence in their own culture had a profound effect in creating native elites. The French applied their system of education to Morocco in an attempt to alter any pre-existing cultural patterns. The French approached the white mans burden with cultural enlightenment.

Initially in the formative years of a French educated society, students learn the general knowledge required by all literate people of that society. Once completed, secondary educated is intended to train a special class. The entire education system is highly centralized and emphasized

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[79]Mumford and Orde-Brown, Africans Learn to be French, p. 50.

clarity in thought and expression and gave the student the ability to syntthesize and analyze. However, since World War Two, the French have placed more empahsis on technical training.[80] The French colonizers, proud of their heritage and convinced of the superiority of their culture felt it their duty to enlighten the colonized to French culture while destroying the cultural heritage of the colonized.

The Moroccan elites who are currently in positions of prominance can be categorized as the second generation elites. This group is the last to have the French educational system available to them. This is the group which was attending French secondary schools during the ten year period following World War Two until independence. According to Douglas Ashford, this group numbers approximately ten thousand.[81] The commonality of education for second generation Moroccans from the Makhzen as well as from the Siba has resulted in an almost total acceptance of the tribal members into those political and social structures formerly rrserved for urban families alone.

These elites educated under the French system had the advantage of a quality with the obvious drawback of an erosion of their traditional beliefs. With independence

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[80] Clement H. Moore, North Africa, p. 8.

[81] Douglas Ashford, "Second and Third Generation Elites in the Maghrib," Man State and Society, I.W. Zartman, ed. Praeger, N.Y. 1973.

from France came an awareness by the first generation elites, those who were directly involved in obtaining independence, that educational growth, modernization and economic expansion were immediate goals of the new nation. To achieve these goals, Morocco embarked on an educational plan which was designed to replace all vestiges of France within administrative positions throughout the nation and also to supply the technicians and trained professionals necessary to accomplish the desired economic growth. Morocco had to train the largest number of technically qualified persons on all levels of industry while also training sufficient personnel to establish an education system necessary to maintain an output of qualified personnel to continue the process.[82] The education explosion which has occurred in Morocco has had some serious repercussions. Due to these pressures for mass education at all levels and the lack of facilities and educators, the result has been a lowering of educational standards at all levels. These newly emerging elites, or the third generation, educated entirely without the benefit of French education could present serious problems in the future. This new group, having the same goals, desires and expectations as their predecessors will not be readily accepted into administrative positions commensurate with the views they hold of their own competance. The

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[82]For an excellent article on the Moroccanization of Morocco, see Charles F. Gallagher, North Africa Series, vol. IV, No. 2.

THE GROWTH OF THE IN-SCHOOL POPULATION OF MOROCCO[83]

LEVEL	1953	1956	1961	1965
Primary	157,000	292,000	856,525	1,100,000
Secondary	4,648	28,000	60,291	174,000
Advanced	2,800	----	4,639	9,297

subsequent generation, the fourth generation, which will be coming into prominance during the next decade has had the advantage of an education system which has finally gotten on track and is producing a quality product. Therefore, one can conclude that the group of elites to watch during the next several years is the third generation. If this group can be satisfied with secondary administrative positions and be content with not assuming those positions of leadership currently held by the French educated elite, Morocco should peacefully progress to a constitutional form of representative government. This will occur with a peaceful transition of political power from the second generation of elites to the fourth generation of elites.[84]

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[83]John Waterbury, The Commander of the Faithful, p. 303.

[84]Zartman, I.W. (ed), Man, State, and Society in the Contemporary Maghrib, p. 93.

VI. MOROCCAN FOREIGN POLICY

The makeup of Moroccan society and its history of segmental opposition coupled with the growth of political parties representing these various factions have played a major role in determining the path of Morocco's foreign policy. With traditionalist opposing modernist, rural versus urban, Arab against Berber and the everpresent influence of Islam it seems natural that Morocco would find it difficult to align itself with nations which would meet the approval of all segments of Moroccan society. The course selected by Mohammed V proved to be an ideal compromise as Morocco's foreign policy since independence has been geared to non-alignment.

Independence found Morocco without an army, foreign troops and bases were firmly entrenched on Moroccan soil and territories which were historically claimed by Morocco under foreign flags. It was these conditions which directly influenced their foreign policy in the years following independence.

Organization of the Army

At independence, Morocco continued to be occupied by an 85,000 man garrison of the French Army and a 60,000 man garrison of the Spanish Army. Therefore, a primary task of the newly formed government was to establish and organize

the Royal Armed Forces (FAR). Speed was important since the presence of a war in Algeria presented a situation where either of the warring factions could exercise pressure on Morocco. Morocco also required a police force to resolve domestic disturbances. The formation of the new army was planned to replace the foreign troops and remove them from Moroccan soil.

During the same month in which Morocco received its independence, the King created the Ministry of National Defence and the General Staff. The plans called for a national army of 20,000 men with the King as Commander in Chief. The army would consist mainly of Moroccan soldiers who had served with either the French or Spanish forces. This army would be geared for external defense and internal security in addition to acquiring a French related trait of performing social work.

The haste in establishing the army manifested itself in many ways over the next several years. The role of the army was unclear, its enemy was not defined and the borders they were to defend were also ambiguous. There was never any concept of border defenses nor any operational plan for the defense of the frontier. Despite these deficiencies, Morocco had an army although it lacked trained personnel and quality leadership. During this same year a small air force was also established but it was not until 1960 that the navy was formed.

Today, in spite of its shaky beginnings, the Moroccan armed forces have developed into an effective force. The army has a total strength approximating 55,000 men, the air force about 4,000, the navy 2,000 and the various internal security forces number about 40,000 men. Chart 1 depicts the Moroccan force structure and equipment inventory.

The major impact of the Moroccan armed forces on foreign policy has been due to the tensions which have existed and continue to exist with neighboring Algeria and Morocco's search for arms suppliers. Since independence, Morocco has had to depend on foreign suppliers for its military aid. Morocco has obtained its defense requirements from six nations. Although Morocco leans towards the West, they utilize a multiple supplier relationship in obtaining their desired arms in order to follow their independent path in foreign affairs. Morocco's dealings with western nations and Soviet bloc nations will be discussed in the following chapter.

Intra-African Relations

Morocco's involvement in intra-African affairs began in 1958 with their participation in various pan-African conferences.[85] Morocco has attempted to obtain as much support from the other African nations mainly to improve

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[85] The New York Times, April 22, 1958, p. 4:3.

CHART 1

MOROCCAN FORCE STRUCTURE

AIRCRAFT

TYPE	QUANTITY	REMARKS
Mirage F-1		25 on order, deliv. about 1980
F-5	24	latest deliv. 1969
CM-170	24	
T-34	12	deliv. 1977
T-28	23	
T-6	35	
SF-260	2	
DO-28	1	
C-119	18	6 on order
MH-1521	4	
C-130	6	waiting delivery
C-47	10	
BE-100	6	
BE-50	2	
SA-330		40 awaiting deliv.
SE-313	4	
AB-205	24	
Bell-47	4	
HH-43	4	
TOTAL	191	

NAVY

TYPE	QUANTITY	REMARKS
Frigate	1	
Corvette	1	4 on order from France
Mine war.	1	
Patrol		6 OSA on order USSR
Patrol	6	
Patrol		20 on order France
LSL		3 on order France

ARMY TANKS

TYPE	QUANTITY	REMARKS
AMX-13	120	
M-48	25	
T-54	115	

Source: DMS Market Intelligence Report, Defense Marketing Service, Inc., Los Angeles, September, 1976.

its prestige in the worlds eyes and also to enlist their support on various issues at international organizations such as the United Nations. Two such incidents have been the issue of Moroccan independence and the Mauritania question. In 1960 Morocco took an active role in African affairs when it responded to a United Nations plea for military support.[86] Morocco furnished in excess of three thousand troops to the Congo, however, they were removed soon after when Mohammed V was dissatisfied with the United Nations operations.[87] Several other states also dissatisfied joined with Morocco in the creation of the Casablanca Group which collapsed shortly afterwards. Morocco also supported several African organizations in their fight for independence. Supporting one of the Angola factions caused Morocco to sever relations with Portugal. With the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, Morocco has taken a more active role in African affairs.

Algeria - Relations between MOrocco and Algeria have been primarily shaped by territorial disputes. Throughout the protectorate period there were several areas between Morocco and Algeria which had never been precisely defined. Immediately following independence Morocco could not get France to discuss the disputed territory. The Algerian war of independence

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[86] The New York Times, July 15, 1960, p. 1:2.

[87] The New York Times, December 13, 1960, p. 5:3-6.

complicated the issue slightly and the Algerian Provisional Government agreed to discuss the issue after independence. Once the war was over Algeria was reluctant to give up any of its newly found nation. Tension mounted and troops from both nations began massing on the borders with border skirmishes.[88] Morocco finally advanced into Algerian territory inflicting serious losses on the Algerian forces.[89] The OAU entered the area to mediate the dispute as Morocco departed.[90] The OAU was successful in their mediating and with a few exceptions there were no more incidents. Morocco had scored a significant military victory at the expense of some diplomatic setbacks for initiating the conflicts. After peace was restored in the area relations between the two appeared to improve. The losses inflicted upon Algeria during the conflict turned Algeria towards the Soviet Union to improve their military posture. This started a small arms race in North Africa as the Soviet Union supplied arms to Algeria and Morocco turned to the United States.[91] Relations between these two states have not been warm since the war although there have not been any additional conflicts between Moroccan and Algerian forces. Serious attempts have

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[88] The New York Times, October 1, 1963, p. 1:8.

[89] The New York Times, October 15, 1963, p. 5:4.

[90] The New York Times, October 31, 1963, p. 1:8.

[91] The New York Times, October 30, 1963, p. 1:1 and 3:1-2.

even been made towards unity and a "Greater Maghreb" involving Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, however, political differences have prevented any success. More recently, the success Morocco has experienced in the Western Sahara has once again renewed problems with Algeria. Algeria desired to have an independent Sahara which would have ensured them access to Atlantic ports. Algeria is presently supplying arms, technical assistance and training to the Polisario Front which is seeking to set up an independent Saharan Arab Democratic REpublic. Military observers suggest that Polisario has little chance of achieving its objective its objective by military means alone.[92] This has caused problems for Morocco and reports indicate that Morocco has increased the size of their army an additional 30,000 troops to handle the situation in the Sahara.[93] In the November 1976 municipal elections in Morocco, the voter turnout in the Sahara was the heaviest with over eighty percent of the 17,000 electorate voted.[94] There does not seem to be any end in sight for the Polisario problem as it continues to keep relations tense between Morocco and Algeria.

Mauritania - For the same historical reasons that Morocco laid claim to other portions of North Africa they also

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[92] Africa Research Bulletin, "POLISARIO Struggles On," May 1-31, 1976, p. 4029-4030.

[93] "POLISARIO Congress," Africa Research Bulletin, September 1-30, 1976, p. 4148.

[94] "Results of Municipal Elections," Arab Report and Record, 1-15 November 1976, p. 669.

claimed Mauritania. During the early fifties, the Istiqlal Party first raised the issue of a "Greater Morocco" which included Mauritania. This concept was first supported by the monarchy during the early part of 1958.[95] During 1960 through 1963, Morocco took their claims on Mauritania to the Arab League, the Casablanca Bloc and the United Nations to try and muster sufficient support for their claims and to prevent Mauritania's entry into the United Nations. Morocco received some support and with the aid of the veto power of the Soviet Union was able to delay but not prevent Mauritania's admission to the United Nations.[96] Relations between Morocco and Mauritania have never been bad even though Morocco refused to recognize the existence of the Mauritanian state. It was not until 1970 that Morocco extended full diplomatic recognition to Mauritania. Relations between the two have since improved steadily and they are allies against the Polisario in the desert war in the former Spanish Sahara which has since been divided between Morocco and Mauritania. The significance of Mauritania in Morocco's foreign policy was most evident during the late fifties and early sixties. It was during this period that supporters of Morocco's claims had a direct impact on the conduct of

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[95] The New York Times, March 29, 1958, p. 3:4.

[96] The New York Times, October 28, 1961, p. 5:1.

Morocco's claims had a direct impact on the conduct of Morocco's foreign affairs and how they voted on international issues. This will be covered in greater detail in the following chapter.

Relations with Spain

Morocco's relations with its northern neighbor have also been influenced by territorial issues. The areas under Spanish control at the time of Moroccan independence included the Spanish Sahara, the Mediterranean cities of Ceuta and Melilla, Ifni, Velez, Alhucemas and the Shafarin Islands. Despite military skirmishes between Moroccan and Spanish forces particularly in the Spanish Sahara, relations between the two nations have been through normal diplomatic channels with numerous state visits to resolve the disputed territories. The willingness of Morocco to engage in peaceful arbitration with Spain resulted in Spanish support for Moroccan causes such as during the Algerian border war of 1963. Spain has also assisted Morocco in joint ventures and the signing of several treaties of cooperation. However, by 1966, Morocco was becoming impatient with Spanish progress on the Sahara issue and Moroccan policy became more aggressive accusing Spain of having no desire to leave the occupied territory. It appears that the change in Moroccan tactics resulted from Istiqlal pressures on the King. The Istiqlal continued to remind the King of his duties to protect the

true religion and to defend the "real" borders of Morocco.[97]

It was not until 1975 that Spain in addressing the United Nations stated that they would be leaving the disputed territory.[98] However, during the same year the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled against Moroccan claims and the United Nations called for Self Determination of the area. This decision prompted King Hassan's "green march" which would be a peaceful occupation of the area by several hundreds of thousands of Moroccan citizens.[99] Talks were in progress between Morocco and Spain during the preparation for the march and it appears that agreement had been reached. Morocco still held a token march and then without military involvement had persuaded Spain to hand over the territory. Spain on the other hand had held the line on the Saharan borders, preserving the dinity of its military, while withdrawing with economic concessions.[100] Tripartite talks followed between Morocco, Mauritania and Spain in which Spain agreed to leave the area by the end of Februrary

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[97]Moore, C.H., Politics in North Africa, p. 224.

[98]"Spanish Sahara," Africa Research Bulletin, June 1-30, 1975, p. 3671-3672.

[99]"Court Rules Against Morocco," Africa Research Bulletin, October 1-31, 1975, p. 3806-3608.

[100]"Further Developments," Africa Research Bulletin, November 1-30, 1975, p. 3836-3838..

1976 and the area would be divided between Morocco and Mauritania.[101]

A visit by the Spanish Foreign Minister to Rabat in May 1976 illustrated that the Sahara issue was resolved along with any misunderstandings. The two countries agreed to seek for more technological and economic cooperation between them.[102] Relations between the two continue to improve as indicated earlier this year by a forty for million dollar credit from Spain as part of a joint fishing agreement.[103]

Relations with France

Immediately following Moroccan independence, relations between France and Morocco were extremely cordial. The Franco-Moroccan Agreement was signed in March 1956 and recognized Morocco's right to conduct her own diplomacy and to maintain her territorial integrity. In May the two nations agreed to consult each other on common foreign policy issues, Morocco agreed to assume all debts which had been accrued during the protectorate and France agreed to support Morocco's entry into the United Nations.[104] French

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[101]"Spanish Sahara," Africa Research Bulletin, Dec. 1-31, 1975, p. 3872.

[102]"Visit of Spanish Foreign Minister," Arab Report and Record, 1-15 May 1976, p. 290-291.

[103]"$44 Million Credit from Spain," Arab Report and Record, 1-15 January 1977, p. 15.

[104]Facts on File, v. 16, May 23-29, 1956, p. 175C3.

aid to Morocco during 1956 amounted to twenty six billion francs with thirty two billion francs promised for 1957.[105] However, two issues of great concern to Morocco could not get resolved. France would not give a definite schedule for removal of their troops nor would they address Morocco's undefined border area with Algeria. The Algerian civil war had developed rapidly and France wanted to maintain as many troops on Moroccan soil as possible to protect French citizens and to be available for use in Algeria. In 1958 France had almost sixty thousand soldiers in Morocco.[106] In 1958 and General de Faulle in power, the Fifth Republic adopted a much more liberal policy towards its colonies and former colonies. In 1960 the two nations agree to a phase out of French troops by 1961 and to evacuate the air bases by 1964. Relations continued to improve with increased technical and cultural assistance.[107] France also continued to be the primary supplier of arms to Morocco during this time frame.[108] Relations continued to improve until the Ben Barka kidnapping in November 1965.[109] Ben Barka had been living in exile

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[105] Facts on File, v. 17, March 21-27, 1957, p. 100A1

[106] Facts on File, v. 18, March 20-26, 1958, p. 95A2.

[107] de Carmoy, G., Foreign Policy of France, University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 231.

[108] SIPRI, The Arms Trade with the Third World, Humanities Press, 1971, p. 853-854.

[109] The New York Times, November 2, 1965, p. 13:1.

since he had been accused of participating in the 1963 UNFP conspiracy. The mystery has never totally been solved although there were French secret police and Moroccan government officials involved. Relations strained as ambassadors were recalled and all French aid to Morocco was stopped.[110] It was almost two years until aid was resumed reaching a total of 323 million frances in 1970.[111] During the last five years the United States had replaced France as Morocco's primary aid supplier. However, ties between the two are still improving with France now replacing the United States as the primary arms supplier. French aid and technical assistance continue to increase and it appears that all barrier to continued good relations have been removed.

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[110] The New York Times, February 3, 1970, p. 3:1.

[111] Hyrop, R.F. and others, Area Handbook for Morocco, p. 206.

VII. THE UNITED STATES AND MOROCCO

The United States has always considered Morocco as being in an extremely strategic location. Its Atlantic coast is adjacent to the European all sea route to central and South Africa, to India, Australia and the Far East. The northern coast of Morocco guarded the entrance to the Mediterranean. As both an Atlantic and Mediterranean power occupying one side of the Strait of Gibralter, Morocco's strategic situation merits the consideration of strategic planners. Morocco's western orientation and its location adjacent to Europe led to the United States - French agreement in 1950 to establish four U.S. air bases in Morocco. These bases were evacuated in 1963 and will be discussed later. Although strategic thought has undergone significant change since the days of the Cold War, Morocco's importance and strategic position continue to play a vital role in superpower efforts to improve relations. At the present time, Morocco's position as the gate to the Atlantic from the Mediterranean could continue to be important as a strategic choke point for oil tankers transiting the Mediterranean. This could be significant when viewing the number of routes available for tankers departing the Middle East.

PERIOD 1956-1961

The years immediately following Moroccan independence from France found increasing United States interest in North Africa. The United States since 1954 had adopted the doctrine of "Massive Retaliation" in which the United States placed its military dependency primarily on a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and places of our own choosing, thereby gaining more basic security at less cost.[112]

The importance of the four Strategic Air Command (SAC) bases in Morocco played a critical role in the operational plan of this doctrine. The importance the United States placed on these bases is illustrated in the grants and loans supplied to Morocco by the United States. A look at the Table following illustrates the amount of United States aid to Morocco increasing as Moroccans increasingly talked of base closures. As soon as Morocco achieved their independence, one of the primary goals of the new nation was to remove all foreign powers from its soil. It was in 1959 that agreement was finally reached between the two nations to phase out the bases by the end of 1963. It was during the following year that for the first time since independence, Morocco opened its doors to the communist countries. Crown Prince Hassan reached an agreement with the Soviets in which the

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[112]Department of State Bulletin, v. XXX, no. 791, January 25, 1954.

TABLE

AID AND PREDECESSOR AGENCIES
(millions of dollars)
Net Obligations and

U.S. Fiscal Yr	Loan Authorizations			Total Expenditures
	Total	Loans	Grants	
1956				
1957	20.1	20	0.1	
1958	30.5	29.9	0.6	18.9
1959	45.3	40.0	5.3	25.3
1960	74.6	63.0	11.6	70.7
1961	38.5	40.0	-1.5	25.7
1962	30.7	30.0	0.8	38.7
1963	20.2	20.0	0.2	27.5

Source: U.S. Economic Assistance Programs. Agency for International Development and Predecessor Agencies, April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1963, p. 57.

Soviet Union would furnish a gift of fighter aircraft and a promise of assistance in all other spheres. Military observers in the United States feared that this turn to the Soviet Union would seriously compromise the security of the bases well before the 1963 agreed upon date. The United States at this time was viewing Moroccan diplomacy as totally unpredictable and concern was even expressed that the United States might be prevented free access through the Strait of Gibralter. This concern over Morocco's turn to the left resulted in another increase in aid to a total of 74.6 million dollars during 1960. This was the peak year of United States aid to Morocco during this period. However, in spite of United States efforts, Morocco accepted the Soviet aid offer. Viewed from the United States perspective,

this was definitely a threat which could cool the previous friendly relations between the two nations.[113] During this same time frame, Morocco and the Soviet Union were having numerous diplomatic and cultural contacts as relations between the appeared extremely friendly. The trend towards the Soviets even appeared to manifest itself in the United Nations. An article in The New York Times stated, "An informal survey of the recent Moroccan voting record in the United Nations shows that Morocco, in following a neutralist path, has voted with the Soviet Union in almost every instance."[114] The view expressed in this article was fairly prevalent and based on Moroccan voting in the United Nations it was feared they were moving to the Soviet camp. The United States informed the Moroccan government of the possibility of curtailment of United States arms and aid.[115]

What happened between the two nations to cause such an apparent shift in relations? For a better understanding, we must go back to independence and view the results not from a rational actor model but rather by attempting to look at all the actors involved and their actions and the resultant course of events. We will see why the United

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[113]"Morocco Accepts Soviet Aid Offer," The New York Times, February 12, 1961.

[114]Ibid.

[115]"U.S. Cautions Morocco on Arms Aid From Russia," The New York Times, February 13, 1961.

States as the principal supplier of economic and military aid to Morocco could not exert sufficient influence in Morocco to cause them to act in the interests of the United States.

United States Base Rights

The United States had utilized the bases in Morocco since the early 1950's while Morocco was a protectorate. As a protectorate of France and France a NATO ally, the United States did not have direct political contact with Morocco. During the initial base talks between France and the United States there were no Moroccan's present. Therefore, at independence, the United States found itself in the embarrassing position of occupying strategic bases on Moroccan soil without the consent of the Moroccan government. One of the basic aims of the Moroccan drive for independence was the removal of foreign troops. Therefore, one of the first items was the question of United Sqates bases and personnel. Although pressure from leftist Moroccan parties pushed for United States evacuation and kept the issue alive, talks between the two countries were conducted cordially and in 1959 during President Eisenhower's visit to Morocco the decision was made to phase out the bases. It was planned that by 1963 the mission of the bases would be assumed by the growing missile force. Although the United States was fearful of Moroccan pressure for an accelerated withdrawal, the Moroccan government did not show any signs of desiring

a speed up of the original agreement. Therefore the question of evacuation of the bases should not be viewed as part of the apparent shift toward the Soviet camp but rather as part of the drive for Moroccan independence and a desire to follow a non aligned role.

Diplomatic Contacts

This aspect of Moroccan foreign policy can be examined from several approaches. During the cold war and throughout the mid fifties, the Soviets as well as the United States lived in a bi-polar world. The Soviets while building up their military capability towards parity with the west did not venture beyond the communist bloc of nations in foreign policy. During this period they did not recognize the existence of non aligned nations. From the Soviet perspective a nation had to declare itself into one camp or the other. It was not until Krushchev's policies opened the Soviet foreign policy towards these nations that the Soviet Union ventured out to win influence. And it was not until 1956 that the Soviets supplied arms to Egypt and Syria in their first attempt to reduce western influence. From this standpoint it does not appear illogical that diplomatic contacts and aid agreements between the Soviet Union and Morocco did not exist due mainly to reluctance of the Soviets to venture into western dominated areas.

Domestic Concerns

A look at domestic factors in Morocco can also explain some of the overtures Morocco made to the east. The new Moroccan government was faced with mounting domestic problems including lack of capital, direction and a growing demand for more democratic process. These problems manifested themselves in a critical press, political rallies, riots and serious political attacks and opposition from leftist political parties. Leftists were accusing the monarchy of accepting western arms and aid and allowing western influence ot infiltrate the Royal Armed Forces. In an effort to diffuse both political and domestic unrest the king began to increase his ties with the Soviet Union. This policy was politically palatable for all factions since Morocco had advertised their policy of non alignment since independence.

Mauritania

The issue of Mauritania played a major role in determining the course of Moroccan events. As previously mentioned Moroccan territorial claims include portions of Mauritania. The issue of Mauritanian independence was scheduled to go before the United Nations General Assembly during the 1960 session. France was expected to sponsor Mauritania for membership in the United Nations and this proposal was to be backed by the United States. The Soviet Union on the other hand backed Moroccan claims in the United Nations.

The United States attempted to counter Soviet influence through an increased aid program for the 1960-1964 period. However, the Soviet veto on the Mauritania issue was seen as a more valuable prize than offers of aid. It could be assumed that the Soviet offer of the veto could be tied to the introduction of arms to the area.

United Nations Voting (See following chart.)

It was the opinion of many in the United States that the shift of Morocco to the east was reflected in their United Nations voting record. During this time frame there were numerous issues in the United Nations dealing with the emergence of the Third World, the Middle East and issues concerning colonies or former colonies of United States allies. It should be expected that Morocco would support other nations striving for independence as they themselves had done.

The Soviet Union also saw it in their interests to encourage and vote in behalf of these newly emerging nations and against the western colonial powers. The United States, on the other side was intrinsically tied to Great Britain, France and Portugal and this is reflected in the United States voting record. The record also shows that Morocco was not that closely tied to the Soviet Union on other critical issues. Morocco on numerous occasions either absented or abstained on United States backed resolutions while other arab states as Algeria and the United Arab Republic were in direct accord with the Soviet voting record.

UNITED NATIONS VOTING CHART
MOROCCO / UNITED STATES /USSR

Number of Resolutions	1958			1960			1962			1963			1965		
	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV
1	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	A	Y
2	A	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A
3	A	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	A
4	N	Y	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	A	Y
5	A	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
6	A	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
7	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
8	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N
9	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	Y	N
10	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	A	Y	A	N	A
11	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y				Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y				Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
13	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y				Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
14				Y	A	Y				Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
15				Y	A	Y				Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
16				Y	A	Y				Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
17				Y	Y	A				Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
18				Y	Y	A				Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
19										Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
20										A	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21													Y	A	N

Y - Yes vote N - No vote A - Abstained

Information extracted from U.N. Yearbooks 1958 through 1973

UNITED NATIONS VOTING CHART
MOROCCO / UNITED STATES / USSR

Number of Resolutions	1966			1967			1969			1970			1973		
	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV	MOR	USA	SOV
1	A	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N
2	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A
3	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y
4	N	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
5	A	Y	N	Y	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
6	Y	N	A	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
7	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
8	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
9	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	A	Y
10	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
16	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
17	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y	N	Y	A	Y
18	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A
19	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20	Y	N	Y							Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
21	Y	A	Y							A	Y	N	Y	Y	A
22										Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y
23										Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
24										Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25										Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
26										Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
27										Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
28										Y	N	Y.	Y	N	Y
29										Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y
30										Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y
31										Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
32										Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y
33													Y	A	Y
34													Y	N	Y
35													Y	N	Y

Y - Yes vote N - No vote A - Abstained

Information extracted from U.N. Yearbooks 1958 through 1973

PERIOD 1961-1968

This period begins with Crown Prince Hassan assuming the throne vacated by Mohammed V. The young monarch helped by his former record of government experience was handicapped by a reputation of personal indiscretion. The new king immediately announced his political intentions, stating that economic improvement must come first followed by a democratic form of government.[116] In the United States we also witness a change of leadership as John Kennedy enters the presidency. This administration adopts the doctrine of Flexible Response in which the United States would have the capability for all modern types of warfare but would still place their main reliance on nuclear weaponry. In the presidents message to congress he also states that our military assistance programs are a necessary part of this concept. In the underdeveloped nations of Africa, he viewed economic programs as essential in improving conditions to preclude external covert intrusion. In the Soviet Union the conflict with China and the failure to obtain a solution to the Germany question created a dnagerous confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy began to get more daring as Krushchev began to take dangerous gambles. The Soviet Union during this period took an active interest in Africa where their primary

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[116] Zartman, I.W., Problems of New Power, Morocco, Atherton Press, 1964.

objective was to create a deepening estrangement of African politicians and intelligentsia from the West. They desired to keep Africa a source of division conflict and danger to the West.[117]

Algerian Conflict

Initially when Hassan assumed the throne the Soviet Union which was supporting the Algerian nationalists wanted to ship arms to Algeria through Morocco. Hassan refused although he supported the revolution, due to fears of internationalizing the war. The king eventually relented and sizeable arms shipments were reported funnelled through Morocco to Algeria.[118] The Moroccan support of the Algerian war led to continued friction between Morocco and France and France's ally the United States. This was in spite of the fact that over ninety percent of Moroccan trade was with the West. As the United States was preparing to leave Morocco, the Soviet Union was making effective efforts to move in. There were Soviet requests for bases and ports which would have given them a strong position in the Mediterranean. By 1962, Soviet activity was evident in the growing stockpile of Soviet made arms in Morocco. At first the Soviet sale of arms was discreet but in 1962 there was

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[117] Ulam, A.B., Expansion and Coexistence.

[118] The New York Times, February 19, 1961.

a clear threat to the United States as the Soviets were trying to obtain bases. According to a magazine report, the Soviets were negotiating with Morocco to build a submarine base on the coast just twenty miles from Gibralter and a shipyard capable of building ships of up to 10,000 tons.[119] As Algerian independence was achieved in 1962, the newly independent nation turned its attention to the disputed territories between Algeria and Morocco. With Algeria appearing firmly entrenched in the Soviet camp and receiving arms which could be used against Morocco, relations cooled between Morocco and the Soviet Union. Although not wanting to break relations entirely, Morocco did protest by breaking relations with Cuba who Morocco accused of aiding the Alerians. The Algerian conflict coupled with the fact that the Soviet Union no longer protested the entry of Mauritania into the United Nations considerably weakened Soviet-Moroccan relations. It was during this time frame that Morocco opened its doors to Communist China. Morocco initiated diplomatic relations and a small scale trade relationship was formed. This was viewed as a slap at the Soviets since the Sino-Soviet split was at its peak. An earlier ordered shipment of Soviet arms arrived in 1962 and with the exception of small order replacement parts there were no further Soviet arms shipments until 1967. In 1967

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[119] U.S. News and World Report, v. LIII, no. 12, September 17, 1962, p. 43.

a shipment of Soviet made T-54 tanks were shipped to Morocco from Czechoslovakia.[120]

United States Support

United States relations with Morocco improved during the Algerian war of 1963. United States aid in the form of advisory, technical and logistical assistance considerably helped United States popularity. In addition, United States economic assistance to Morocco had reached 400 million by 1964, 500 million by 1966 and 600 million by 1967.[121] The United States had also become Morocco's second largest supplier. With the Algerian war over, Morocco desired to return to a policy of non alignment, however, the arrival of large quantities of modern Soviet equipment in Algeria during 1965 forced Morocco to turn again to the West. Western diplomats generally discounted the idea that the Algerians would initiate an attack, however, they showed understanding of the Moroccan view that a dangerous military imbalance existed. The United States through FMS sales sold four F-5B's and four helicopters to Morocco in addition to a 32 million MAP which included twelve F-5A, C-119's and C-47's along with some armored cars. The previous year, the United States gave Morocco thirty five suplust 90mm self-propelled anti-tank guns.[122]

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[120] Area Handbook for Morocco.

[121] Astrachan, A., "Aid Reslices The Pie," African Report, June 1967, p. 8-15.

[122] DMS Market Intel Report.

Trade

A look at United States trade statistics with Morocco (see following table) illustrates that although the volume of trade is not enormous it reveals no appreciable gains or losses during this time frame which could indicate a trend in relations. United States imports from Morocco and exports to Morocco increased fairly steadily throughout the period. However, a look at the same chart illustrates that the Soviet trade statistics reflect a similar trend.

Loans and Credits

A look at the following chart and the long term loans and credits reflect United States-Moroccan relations. In FY 1959 the long term loans and credits amounted to over 100 million which one could possibly tie to the desire in retaining the air bases. Once the agreement was reached there is a drastic cut to 60 million for FY 1960. With Soviet interest appearing in Morocco we see a gradual climb to 70 million in FY 1961 and 1962. In FY 1964 and the Soviets firmly embedded in Algeria, Soviet relations with Morocco poor and the Algerian border war we see another cutback to approximately 12 million. After termination of the war and renewed Soviet interest in Morocco, United States loans and credits again climb. The end of this period brings another United States reduction to 38 million in FY 1968 which can be explained by the 1967 Middle East war.

TABLE

MOROCCAN TRADE STATISTICS
WITH U.S. AND U.S.S.R.

	UNITED STATES		SOVIET UNION	
YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
1963	44.2	5.6	7.1	8.1
1964	41.8	5.4	10.6	5.4
1965	53.5	7.0	9.5	11.1
1966	56.8	9.4	16.0	11.1
1967	52.6	9.8	18.0	15.6
1968	76.3	7.3	19.8	15.7
1969	42.2	9.3	31.5	14.5
1970	77.5	7.7	32.8	14.0
1971	99.0	7.2	28.1	17.6
1972	58.0	10.3	30.4	24.3
1973	116.0	12.2	43.0	26.9
1974	177.8	18.9	60.3	32.5

Source: Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, United Nations, 1967 through 1974.

CHART

U.S. LONG TERM FOREIGN LOANS
AND CREDITS TO MOROCCO

YEAR	TOTAL	MILITARY SALES
1957	20.0	
1958	30.0	
1959	101.9	
1960	59.7	
1961	70.0	
1962	69.7	
1963	60.0	
1964	11.5	
1965	77.5	6.0
1966	45.0	
1967	93.2	14.0
1968	38.0	6.0
1969	32.0	3.5
1970	35.1	15.0
1971	82.2	10.0
1972	9.2	
1973*	42.7	24.8

* 6 months

Source: Foreign Credits, United States Government Printing Office, December 31, 1971, December 31, 1972, June 30, 1973.

Arms Transfers

Throughout the entire period, Algeria imported in excess of 259 million dollars worth of arms almost exclusively from the Soviet Union. During this same time frame, Morocco imported a total of 104 million dollars in arms of which the United States supplied less than half. In addition, the Soviets also furnished sizeable amounts to Morocco. The United States was reluctant to match the Soviet buildup in Algeria in fear of starting an arms race in North Africa.[123]

United Nations Voting

A look at the United Nations voting record for Morocco during this period could possibly lead one to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was able to gain a significant amount of influence (see chart on p. 112). During the period 1961-1968 ninety one resolutions were examined. Of these, there were only thirty five in which the United States and the Soviets took opposing views. Of the thirty five resolutions Morocco voted with the United States on four issues, with the Soviet Union on twenty three issues and abstained on eight issues. However, we must again examine the issues and in doing so we see that the issues involve colonies, former colonies, Middle East or African affairs. It must

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[123]U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, The International Transfer of Conventional Arms, U.S. Government Printing Office, April 12, 1974.

be assumed that an independent nation and a former colony that has arab and african affairs interwoven into their foreign affairs would naturally vote the way they did. Due to the issues concerned we cannot deduce any Soviet or United States influence gained and what we do see is a nation interested in its regional area.

Basing Rights

Perhaps a better view of influence could be obtained by a look at basing rights and foreign military personnel stationed in Morocco. Although the United States negotiated for the evacuation of their air bases, the Moroccan government allowed the United States to retain a vital communications center at Kenitra which is manned by United States personnel. On the other hand, except for a small contingent of Soviet technicians which arrived to assemble and assist with the first delivery of weapons there are no Soviet bloc military personnel stationed in Morocco.

PERIOD 1968-1976

This period of United States-Moroccan relations is highlighted by the Nixon Doctrine in which we look to each nation to define the nature of their own security and determine the parth of their own progress. The United States will provide elements of military strength and economic resources appropriate to our interests. The defense and progress of some other countries must be their responsibility first and a regional responsibility second

and not primarily America's concern.[124] The new Nixon doctrine implies that we will increase our military and economic assistance to our friends and allies but avoid direct United States military intervention.

Situation in Morocco

This last period opens with Morocco improving relations with the Soviet Union. Towards the latter part of 1967 and into 1968, Morocco accepted delivery of eighty Soviet made Czechoslovakian T-54 tanks. This was a barter deal and Morocco supplied primary products in return. The situation in Algeria had not changed significantly and the Soviets were still supplying extensive arms into the area. In 1967 the United States agreed to provide approximately fifteen million dollars worth of ground equipment including armor and anti-tank material to stiffen her defenses. The United States promised continued support of "modest" arms aid for defensive purposes.[125] During the first several years of this period, United States interests were focused on Viet Nam and the situation in the Middle East with little attention placed on North Africa. The only major United States arms transfer to Morocco during these early years was the transfer of five F-5's in 1969. The situation in

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[124] Department of State Bulletin, v. LXIV, no. 1656, March 22, 1971.

[125] "Rusk and Hassan Agree on Increase in Aid for Morocco," The New York Times, February 11, 1967.

Algeria had not improved significantly and the disparity between the two countries was still enormous. The following table illustrates the arms imports of the two nations from 1961 through 1971.

TABLE

VALUE OF ARMS IMPORTS
(millions of U.S. $)

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
MOR	4	11	16	9	7	16	25	15	6	10	5
AIG	3	5	14	64	31	86	41	15	3	24	25

Source: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, The International Transfer of Conventional Arms, U.S. Government Printing Office, April 12, 1974

In order to obtain its arms requirements, Morocco began to look for new suppliers. France had not supplied any economic or military aid to Morocco since 1966 and the Ben Barka affair but in the early part of 1970 relations improved and France once again was supplying aid to Morocco.

Soviet Activity

The Soviets were extremely active during the early years of this period. In 1967 they agreed to construction of a twenty million hydro-electric power station and in the early part of 1968 Morocco purchased 95 armored personnel carriers from Czechoslovakia. In 1969 President Podgorny arrived for a six day visit in which talsk focused on economic

and military aid. In October 1971 Soviet Premier Kosygin scheduled a visit to Morocco for the prime purpose of discussing economic aid. Since the early part of this period there have been numerous instances of Soviet aid and assistance to Morocco but there have been no significant transfers.

United States Activity

It was about 1970 when United States interest returned to Morocco and Secretary of State Rogers arrived for talks and President Nixon also planned a follow-on trip in July 1970. It was also in 1970 that the secret base agreement which allowed the United States to stay at Kenitra was exposed. There were fears that the United States would have to leave but the Moroccan government played the issue down and the United States remained.[126] The renewed interest by the United States was reflected in a speech by the Assistant Secretary of State.

> "Despite the withdrawal of military facilities from Morocco, our economic and strategic interests there remain substantial. We have growing tade and investment in that country. We value the presence of this friend at the southern side of the gateway to the Mediterranean."[127]

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[126]"Senate Finds U.S. Secret Base in Morocco for Navy Communication," The New York Times, July 28, 1970.

[127]Newsom, D.D., Vital Speeches, v. XXXVIII, no. 6, January 1, 1972.

The next significant agreement between Morocco and the United States was in 1975 for the sale of aircraft, armored personnel carriers, recovery vehicles, howitzers and trucks. The agreements were well in excess of 100 million dollars. In the early part of 1976 the United States reached an agreement with Morocco to sell 24 F-5 aircraft and equipment for a total value of 120 million. The war in Spanish Sahara caused some concern as to whether the United States should go through with the deal. In the meantime Morocco negotiated with France for 300 million dollar oder for 25 Mirage F-1 aircraft. The loss of this sale will undoubtedly have some effect on American influence in Morocco.

Trends

During this period, Morocco received increasing amounts of aid from the richer arab countries. This was probably in appreciation for their part in the 1973 war. There is every indication that this aid will continue especially from Saudi Arabia as Morocco acts as a stabilizing force in the region. Iran is also willing to supply arms and equipment to Morocco and the United States has approved the transfer of United States equipment from Iran to Morocco. Moroccan ties with France also are greatly improving. During the last three years Morocco has increased their orders to France to include numerous ships, helicopters, missiles, artillery and this latest order of the Mirage

aircraft. It appears that if these trends continue, France will again become the leading arms supplier to Morocc-.

VIII. CONCLUSION

What we are witnessing in Morocco is the political development of a nation relatively new to the field of effective modern administration. In the historical chapter we saw that Morocco's history has a noticeable void when discussing effective central government. Their entire history is a series of conquests with different empires ruling parts of the nation. Even during the peaceful years we see the nation divided against itself into the Arab versus Berber and Siba versus Makhzen factions which would not permit the Makhzen ruler to form an adequate government. The only area under effective rule was the area that the ruler could control at any given time based on his military strength. This lack of effective government experience marks Morocco as noticeably different than most of the other Arab states. The majority of those states had either the advantage of being ruled by the excellent Ottoman administration system or by a relatively long period of exposure to Western or European administrations. Morocco's geographical characteristics kept them relatively isolated until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912. However, it was not until 1934 that the French were able to achieve pacification throughout the entire nation. It was during the next twenty two years that Morocco was finally governed by a fairly effective government. Even during this period the Moroccans did not determine their nations destiny, since

it was the French who governed even at the lowest governmental level through the fascade of an appointed Moroccan counterpart. True Moroccan administration did not occur until independence was finally achieved. Therefore when we are discussing Morocco we must realize that for practical purposes we are speaking of a self governing nation that is barely twenty two years old. With this in mind one can understand that the effects of traditionalism may still play a predominant role in modern Morocco.

Traditional Morocco consisted of an enormous field of political unions constantly forming, dissolving and realigning alliances to maintain a working system of segmental opposition. This history of segmental opposition can be seen today in the political arena. There has normally been a balance of different political factions which had been successfully manipulated by the monarchy. The politicians of one political faction will very rarely focus on issues which could seriously jeapordize the existance of the other faction. The society has operated throughout its history in a balanced state and this primordial custom cannot be immediately threatened. This feature of Moroccan society lends itself well to the multi-party state and a representational form of government. Neither the society nor the monarchy inhibit the creation of new political parties. The creation of these parties has a major impact on the modernization process and the break up of primordial differences between the two major segments of society. Through the political socialization process, the induction

into political culture is accomplished at various degrees from the politician to his most traditional constituent. This constant association through the political forum has a way of mellowing basic differences and a shift from one set of attachments to another. It is curious, in the opinion of this author, to see the traditional Moroccan practice of segmental opposition have a direct positive bearing on the political modernization process.

It was illustrated in the body of this report that the Islamic religion has many features which appear to have detrimental effects on modernization. The Islamic teachings on predestination, free will, community of believers, relationship between church and state normally oppose both nationalism and modernization. This holds true in Morocco also, however, once again we find Morocco unique and it is this same Islamic religion providing the major strength in the bond uniting the nation. With the exception of race it is the only common primordial attachment between Arab and Berber. In Morocco we witnessed the coastal areas and the Makhzen receiving the earliest exposure to outside influences and the first to see an effective governmental administration. It was also the Makhzen where we see the first stirrings of nationalism. As this area begins to shift its allegiance towards nationalism and modernization we find the politically inferior rural areas remaining steadfast to the tenets of Islam. Under most similar conditions we would probably find civil strife with both factions

seeking autonomy. In Morocco, however, we see theking as head of both religion and state, obtaining allegiance from both factions of society. It was during the critical years during the drive to independence and the years immediately following that the monarchy held the nation together. Even today as the rural areas experience a political awakening with active participation in the political proces we see Islam providing the stabilizing force which allows the peaceful transition. The result will be the lessening impact of Islam since involvement in the political process will result in establishing different principles alongside Islam with the result being a conflict of duties unless there is a separation of church and state. This separation can either be within the individual or national policy but the result is the same.

The effect of the French on modernization in Morocco must be mentioned. The greatest impact had to have been due to the pacification of Morocco. This one act completed in 1934 would totally change Moroccan society. For the first time in history the area was united under one central administration. The age-old Makhzen/Siba relationships had finally been ruptured and the dreams of the nationalists finally became realistic goals. They could now look at Morocco as a unified state. The French established the foundations for an expanding economy in agriculture, mining, industry and trade. To accompany their economic interests,

the French established a modern transportation network and a modern administration to operate the government. Although the Moroccans were not suitably trained by the French in effective government operation it did provide the basic structure which was utilized when the French departed. The transportation and communication network established by the French was invaluable in the spread of nationalist goals throughout the country. This nationalism was a result of the protectorate and the Moroccans rejection of the inferior social and psychological status afforded them by the French and the attempt by the French to encourage Berber separatism. This is in addition to the physical disparity in life style between Moroccan and Frenchman which was so visible in every Moroccan city. The French and their civilizing mission to Morocco encouraged the creation of an elite class through their education system. These new elites had their expectations raised of being assimilated into French culture and their non acceptance drove them to seek equality with the French through independence. These French educated Moroccans provided the initial political elites in the country and the founders and organizers of Moroccan political parties.

The growth of political parties in Morocco enabled political involvement and expression at all levels of society. As previously mentioned, the political party and the party politican play the most important roles in the modernization process. In Morocco the political party grew

from a social group voicing protests to the French to today's party which is a means of voicing interest articulation to the monarchy. Although the country to date has been ruled as an absolute monarchy, the political parties and labor unions have been too pwerful for the king not to be affected by their actions. We witnessed how the king has maneuvered the political scene through successfully plyaing each of the parties or coalition of parties against the other. This type of political activity has caused Morocco to advance rather slowly towards political modernization. In Morocco's case, this author feels that the slowness of progress has been beneficial to Morocco and has allowed a political awakening throughout the community. One major problem with most modernizing autocracies is that the change to a representational type of government is too abrupt a change from transitional to modern. The majority of the population cannot accept the loss of the traditional symbol of authority and the new representative government is immediately faced with a serious legitimacy crisis. The rate of Morocco's progress coupled with the various attempts at constitutional reform and the increase in party participation is easing the transition towards a representational government. The major parties in Morocco today include: (1) The Istiqlal which is the largest and receives its majority of support from the urban areas, (2) the UNFP is the main opposition party and receives the majority of

its support from the Moroccan labor unions, (3) The USFP is a radical offshoot of the UNFP and most of its support is from urban intellectuals, (4) The PM is mostly a rural party deriving support from Berber voters, (5) The PPS is the small Moroccan communist party, and (6) A number of smaller parties and independent candidates. It is evident that the multi-party system is working in Morocco as the parties represent a complete cross section of Moroccan society with independents filling in the gaps. There is also excellent popular support for the political process as was illustrated by the last election. In the June 1977 legislative elections there was a voter turnout in excess of eighty two percent of the six and a half million registered voters. It also appears thatthe present parties have overcome the poor preparation that was evident at independence and they have finally stratified into their separate political ideologies which should minimize future party splits and factions.

With this political awakening, the role of the monarchy is also changing. We have seen the king, backed by strong traditional rural support from the predominantly Berber military, play one political faction against the other with little movement towards representational government. The king has been successful to date mainly due to the enforcement of his legitimacy through the impact of Islam and his descent from the Prophet. This alternate source of legitimacy has successfully retained the monarchy in command of

the Moroccan political scene. However, during Morocco's political maturing, the people are acquiring a greater sense of common identity, a spirit of equality, a lessening of the force of Islam resulting in an overall challenge to the legitimacy of the monarchy. This is illustrated in everyday Moroccan life in its political development but was vividly brought to the attention of the king by the two coup attempts originating from his traditiinal Berber military support.

In regard to the relinquishing of pwer and movement towards representational government there can be two political reasons for the king's slow transfer of power. The first being that the king enjoys the role of absolute monarch and will only relinquish enough of his power to satisfy mounting unrest while attempting to retain as much power without inciting a violent reaction from the parties. The second alternative is that the king, western educated and western oriented is a true patriot and believes that a representational form of government is best for Morocco but realized that as a nation Morocco has not been politically ready for the great leap from monarchical rule to representational rule. Although this author believes the latter to be correct, it is immaterial since the end results are the same. In either case there will be a slow transfer of power resulting in dissent from all factions. The political parties who are politically mature can be expected to voice

displeasure at the slow transition whereas the traditional sector will feel the change too rapid. The transfer of legitimacy requires skillful manipulation. It is even offered that the various crises which have befallen Morocco were contrived by the monarch. Each of these events such as the Algerian border war, the Western Sahara issue, the "Green March" and even the fairly current involvement in Zaire have all come at periods of relative unrest and have served to rally the nation behind the monarchy in a show of national strength and unity. The king is still riding the crest of the Sahara issue. Presently the king has the strongest legitimacy support in the most traditional sectors and the least in the most modern sector. However, as the traditional sector continues to mature we will see continued progress towards the constitutional monarchy as authority based on a representational form of government is legitimized.

There is no simple formula to convert a traditional society into a modern state. The process is a long, involved tortuous path where we witness a basic shift in the attachments held by the people. This shift involves the entire spectrum of socialization including home environment, education, social and worker contacts to political participation. The longer this transitional period of socialization is allowed to continue, the greater the chance of successfully shaping the peoples habits towards government. Therefore

time continues to be on the side of Morocco's political modernization.

In Morocco we are witnessing many factors which are favorably improving its political culture. The economic foundation laid by the French has been maintained as Morocco continues to industrialize. There have been several economic setbacks but in general the movement has been positive. The impact of the North-South dialogue has more than tripled the price of phosphate which is Morocco's main export. The increase in industrialization and tourism has improved the economic situation of the people and has resulted in a growing middle class. This in turn involves a shift in power from the country to the city and power is successfully widened to include demands for political participation by urban social groups. This results in a greater transfer of ideas, more participation in the political process, greater political recruitment and better interest articulation. In addition, the government establishes closer ties with the masses enabling it to become more adaptive to their demands.

The impact of Islam on the modernizing process is also undergoing change. As education continues to remain one of Morocco's top priorities we are seeing traditional Islamic thoughts replaced by modern political thought. Simultaneous with this is a corresponding decrease in the Moroccan ulema class. The benefits derived from a western education have

deterred the older ulema families from sending their children to traditional schools which has resulted in a reduction in the overall level of competence in the ulema class. This was probably inevitable since the establishment of a strong central government controlling a unified state does not present the ideal environment for the strong, traditional ulema class. The absence of a strong ulema class and a modern education system have combined to lessen the Islamic impact on modernization. This is true in the rural areas also where the strong central state has resulted in a decrease in the number of brotherhoods.

Morocco is on the verge of becoming a constitutional monarchy. The political parties have a broad base and we should witness excellent recruitment patterns. Interest articulation will continue to improve through Moroccan labor unions, student organizations, social groups, the military, political parties and a free press. There is currently no censorship placed on the news media and reporting is excellent even to the extent of government criticism. Universal suffrage is practiced and political participation is excellent. Primordial differences are disappearing as Arab and Berber interact in the political process. Language differences are disappearing as arabic is the national language taught in all schools. The future looks bright and it is anticipated that Morocco will achieve representational government without a violent upheaval as the transitional period allows a transfer of political obligations to the new authority.

Moroccan claims by King Hassan that Morocco's foreign policy will be one of non alignment appear well founded. In following this policy, however, it does appear that Morocco is slightly off center and leaning towards the West. Whether this is due to the French legacy, the ties with the West which were not severed at independence, the influence of Islam in rejecting Communism or the combination of any of these cannot be determined. Another major factor is that the primary threat to Morocco has been and continues to be Algeria. Algeria has almost a sole supplier relationship with the Soviet Union and appears to be firmly established in the Soviet camp. It is felt that the Soviets have a larger stake in Algeria than Morocco and in the event of another Moroccan-Algerian conflict the Soviets could affect the outcome through favored arms treatment towards Algeria.

Since 1956 and independence we have seen the major attempt to obtain some influence in Moroccan affairs. The United States attempted with increased aid to retain its Moroccan air bases. The United States threatened aid curtailment in an attempt to prevent inroads by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union once established as an arms supplier to Morocco immediately attempted to obtain base and port facilities in Morocco. None of these attempts were successful and Morocco continued on its path of non alignment.

The policy of the United States in its aid to Morocco represents a hegemonic pattern of supply. United States aid

is provided to ensure continued good relations with the government of Morocco in addition to supporting a government that is anti-communist. Although two cup attempts have been attempted by factions of the military, the army continues to be a strong supporter of King Hassan. Continued aid to enable Morocco to maintain adequate military strength to meet the threat could ensure continued allegiance to the king.

A review of the criteria generally established as being determinants of influence reveals that Morocco is following their advertised policies.

Diplomatic Contacts - Moroccan contacts with both eastern and western nations are and have been considerable. Exchanges are common as King Hassan examines all avenues for ways to meet his country's needs.

Trade - A review of trade statistics in the chart on page 112 reveals no abnormal patterns for either the United States or the Soviet Union. Trade for both nations and Morocco has grown steadily.

Alliances - Morocco has avoided joining alliances with any of the major powers. Morocco is an active participator in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, The League of Arab States, The Organization of African Unity and The Islamic Solidarity Bloc. Morocco has maintained cordial relations with the United States and the Soviet Union while attempting to remain netural at the regional level in intra-arab and intra-african rivalries. Morocco

on numerous occasions has hosted conferences to alleviate differences between regional states.

United Nations Voting - A review of twenty years of Moroccan voting in the United Nations reveals no signficant patterns which would indicate influence for any of the major suppliers. Although the chart on page 104 indicates that Morocco voted significantly more times with the Soviet Union than with the United States it is necessary to examine the issues and the patterns of superpower voting. Morocco continues to support Third World countries and this is reflected in the voting pattern. The Soviet Union in efforts to win political influence with the Third World and to undermine western influence has been supporting Third World aspirations in the United Nations. The United States on the other hand is tied around the world in various treaties and alliances and cannot afford to jeapordize these relationships. Therefore, an issue which puts a United States ally against a colony or former colony of that ally the United States will normally abstain or votes in favor of the ally.

Base Rights - In this area the United States is viewed as having an edge. The United States currently maintains about one thousand military personnel staticned in Morocco to operate a communication facility, a Moroccan training detachment, a naval detachment at Kenitra and a MAAG at Rabat. After the agreement to evacuate the bases was signed it was agreed by both govenments that the communication

facilities would remain. The Soviet Union has attempted to secure base rights but to date has not succeeded.

It can be assumed that excluding a radical change in the government, Morocco will continue its policy of non alignment with leanings towards the West. The Soviet Union and the United States will continue in their attempts to win influence. It is also quite probable that as long as the threat remains Algeria and Libya and the Soviet Union remains their primary supplier that relations between the Soviet Union and Morocco will not improve substantially.

The curent problems in the newly occupied territories in Spanish Sahara and the Polisario guerrilla war continue to plague Morocco. It will be in the United States interests to support Morocco to counter this threat. Moroccan interests have always coincided fairly well with United States interests. This has been vividly illustrated lately by Morocco's role in Zaire and with their current support of President Sadat's peace initiatives. The United States cannot afford to lose Morocco to the Soviet camp since with the exception of Tunisia , that would place all of North Africa under Soviet influence.

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